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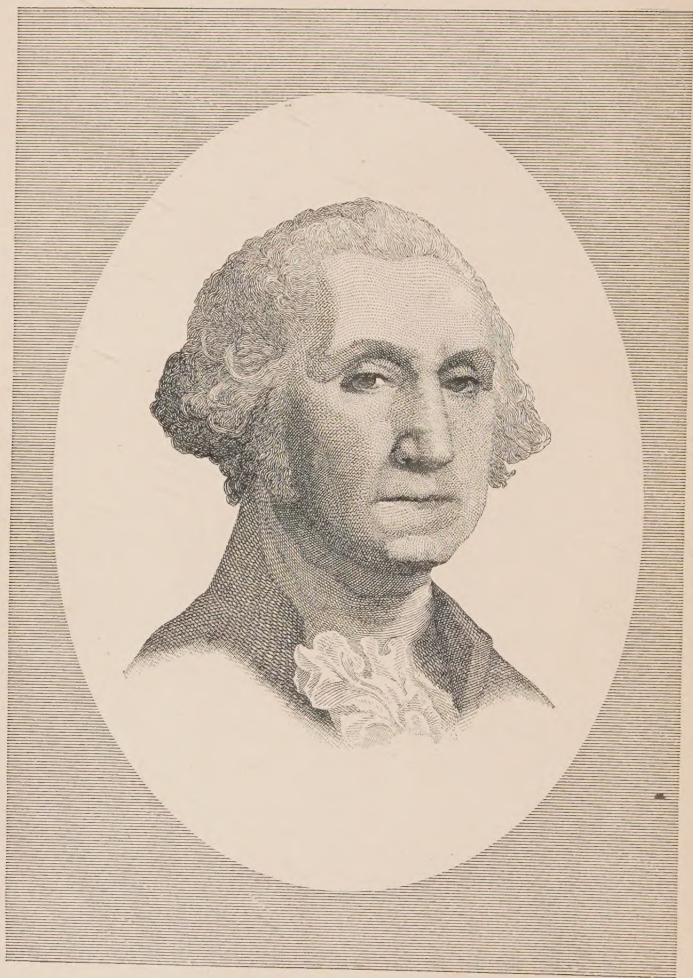
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BY

D. H. MONTGOMERY

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REVISED EDITION

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PREFATORY NOTE

This work is based on a careful study of the highest recognized authorities on the subject. Its purpose is to present in a clear, connected, and forcible manner the important events in the history of our country.

The author has had three chief objects in view, — accuracy of statement, simplicity of style, impartiality of treatment.

In the preparation of this work his grateful acknowledgments are due to John Franklin Jameson, Director of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, for his valuable assistance in the revision of the proof sheets. The author also desires to express his thanks for the use of books and papers in the Library of Harvard University, the Library of Congress, and the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and he is especially indebted to the Librarian and the attendants of the Boston Athenæum for the aid they have so courteously rendered him.

The present edition has been revised throughout and brought up to date.

DAVID H. MONTGOMERY

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THE LEADING FACTS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

I

"He [the Most High] gave to thee [Columbus] the keys of those gates of the Ocean . . . which were fast closed with such mighty chains." — *Dream of Columbus*, see his *Letter to the King and Queen of Spain*, 1503.

THE DISCOVERY AND NAMING OF AMERICA¹

(1492-1522)

COLUMBUS · CABOT · AMERIGO VESPUCCI²

1. Birth of Columbus; Ideas about the Earth; the "Sea of Darkness." Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of America, was born in Genoa, Italy.³

At that time the earth was generally supposed to be flat, to be much smaller than it actually is, and to be habitable on its upper side only. The countries laid down on the rude and imperfect maps then in use were the continent of Europe, part of Asia, a narrow strip of northern and eastern Africa, and a few islands, the largest of which were the British Isles and Iceland. (Map, p. 2.)

¹ **Reference Books.** R. G. Thwaites' "Colonies," pp. 21-25; W. C. Bryant and Gay's "United States" (revised edition), I, ch. 3, 5, 6; J. Fiske's "Discovery of America," I, 148-255, 335-446; W. Irving's "Columbus" (abridged); T. W. Higginson's "American Explorers," pp. 21-32; E. G. Bourne's "Spain in America," pp. 9-60; A. B. Hart's "Source Book," pp. 1-6; A. B. Hart's "American History by Contemporaries," I, 28-49. See also the classified List of Books in the Appendix.

² Amerigo Vespucci (ä-mä-rē'gō vēs-pōōt'chē).

³ The date of the birth of Columbus cannot be determined with certainty; it ranges all the way from 1430 to 1456.

The Atlantic was called the "Sea of Darkness." People generally believed that it was covered with thick black fogs, and was guarded by terrible monsters which made it impassable.

Long before Columbus was born, storm-driven sailors chanced to discover the Canaries and the Azores. These islands, with Iceland, marked the western limit of voyages. Navigators, even with the help of the mariner's compass, did not dare venture beyond them.



COPY OF A MAP OF THE WORLD AS
KNOWN IN 1496

The faint, dotted outline of the coast of Africa shows the unexplored portion. The monsters represent the terrors of unknown regions.

All the countries of southern and eastern Asia were at that time known under the general name of the Indies.

2. The Voyages and Discoveries of the Northmen. But in saying this we must make one exception: the Northmen, those daring sailors of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, from whom the English-speaking race has largely sprung,¹ braved even the tempests and the terrors of the Atlantic. By accident they made a number of

remarkable discoveries several centuries before Columbus. Though they had no compass, — no guide, in fact, but the sun and the stars, — yet they frequently made long voyages in rudely built vessels not larger than fishing boats.

In these voyages the Northmen discovered and settled Iceland (850) and, later, Greenland. Finally, about the year 1000, Leif

¹ The Northmen invaded and permanently settled the northeastern half of England in the 9th century. In the next century they established themselves in northwestern France, which district was called from them Normandy (the country of the Normans, or Northmen). In 1066 the Normans crossed the Channel and conquered England. Hence many English, since the 9th century, and their descendants in America must have sprung from the Northmen.

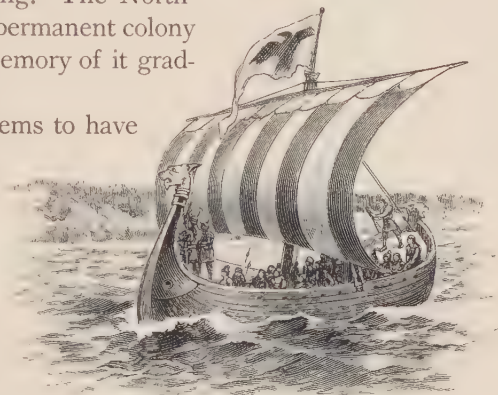
Furthermore, Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish immigrants have come to America in great numbers and are still coming. They are noted for their intelligence, industry, and thrift, and they make excellent citizens.

Ericson, a Northman, who was afterward known as "Leif the Lucky," discovered the coast of North America. He named the new country Vinland,¹ because of the quantities of wild grapes which he found there.

It is impossible to say where Vinland was, but it seems probable that it was on some part of the coast of New England or Nova Scotia.

3. The Discovery of America by the Northmen had no Practical Result. But although it is interesting to know that the Northmen visited our shores as early as the year 1000, still their discovery led to nothing. The Northmen did not found a permanent colony in Vinland, and the memory of it gradually died out.

Columbus never seems to have heard of such a country. He sailed on his famous voyage nearly five hundred years after "Leif the Lucky" landed on the coast of North America. We are therefore quite safe in saying



LEIF ERICSON'S VESSEL

that when Columbus set out to cross the Atlantic one half the world did not so much as suspect the existence of the other half.

4. What Land Columbus wished to reach; Marco Polo's Travels; the First Reason why Columbus wished to go to the Indies. What, then, let us ask, first induced Columbus to undertake a voyage that no other man of that age dared embark upon? It was not because he expected to find a new continent beyond

¹ The Northmen used to relate accounts of their voyages, and in one of these accounts, which was written out hundreds of years later, we read: "And when spring came they got ready and sailed off; and Leif gave a name to the land after its sort, and called it Vinland (Vineland). They sailed then . . . until they saw Greenland . . . after that, Leif was called 'Leif the Lucky.'"

the Atlantic, for no one then expected that. What he set out to do was simply to find a new way to reach the Indies by sailing westward.

Columbus burned with a desire to explore the marvelous eastern lands which had been described by the great Venetian traveler, Marco Polo, more than two hundred years before (1260–1295). Polo had made an overland journey to India and China and had spent nearly thirty years there. He also gave some account of Japan, — a country which Europe never had heard of before.

Columbus believed that God had chosen him to go out as a missionary to these far-off lands. He kept that belief to the end. It gave a certain dignity to his work, and made his life noble in many ways.

5. The Second Reason why Columbus wished to reach the Indies. But the question naturally arises, if Columbus wished to reach the Indies, why did he not follow in the footsteps of his predecessor, Marco Polo (§ 4), and go overland to that country?

It was because Columbus, being a sailor, naturally wished to open up direct trade by water with the rich countries of the East; for commerce always prefers the sea, when practicable, as the cheapest and easiest route.

In that age the people of Europe used great quantities of spices, not only to flavor their food but also to preserve it. They obtained these spices from the Indies. They also imported silks, perfumes, precious stones, and many other articles from that part of the world.

Genoa and Venice had carried on this trade for centuries; one by way of the Black Sea, the other by the Red Sea (Map, p. 5), but in both cases the goods had to come part of the way overland. About the middle of the 15th century (1453) the Turks took Constantinople and broke up the Genoese branch of the trade with the Indies. Later, the Venetian branch by way of the Red Sea was broken up by the same people.

6. Attempt of the Portuguese to reach the Indies by a New Route. This great change compelled the nations of southern



THE WORLD AS KNOWN SHORTLY BEFORE AND SHORTLY AFTER THE
SAILING OF COLUMBUS

Light arrows show voyages made up to 1492; light track, Da Gama's voyage, 1497-1498.
Dark arrows show voyages of Columbus and Cabot.
White crosses show countries of which something was known before 1492.
White area, including western coast of Africa, shows the world as known shortly before
the sailing of Columbus.

Europe to seek a new route to the Indies. The King of Portugal thought that possibly he might find a way round the continent of Africa into the Indian Ocean. No one then knew how far the "Dark Continent" extended southward. The King's ships made voyage after voyage and slowly worked their way down the coast, but it took them more than fifty years to reach the southern point.

Diaz, the Portuguese navigator, finally got to that point (1487), but he had such a rough experience that he named it the Cape of Storms. When he returned with the great news that he had actually come to the end of the African continent, the Portuguese monarch felt sure that he could accomplish what he had set out to do. To show his confidence in the new route, he called for Diaz's chart, drew his pen through the name Cape of Storms, and in its place wrote in bold letters that name full of promise, — the Cape of Good Hope.

He was right, for not many years later another Portuguese navigator sailed round that cape, reached the peninsula of India (1498), and established a trading post there.

7. Plan of Columbus for reaching the Indies by sailing West. Meanwhile Columbus felt certain that he could find a shorter and better way of reaching the Indies than the course Diaz had marked out. Instead of sailing east, or south and east, he proposed to sail directly west. He had four reasons for such an undertaking:

1. In common with the best geographers of his day, Columbus believed that the earth was not flat, as most men supposed, but a globe.

2. He supposed the globe to be much smaller than it is, and the greater part to be land instead of water.

3. As he knew nothing and guessed nothing of the existence of the continent of America or of the Pacific Ocean, he imagined that the coast of Asia or the Indies was directly opposite Spain and the western coast of Europe.

4. He estimated the entire distance across from Spain to Japan at less than 4000 miles.

His plan was this : he would start from Europe, head his ship westward toward Japan, and follow the curve of the globe until it brought him to what he sought. To his mind it seemed as sure and simple as for a fly to walk round an apple.

If successful in the expedition, he could enter the Spice Islands and the whole region of the Indies directly by the front door, while the Portuguese could only enter them in a roundabout way, and by a sort of side door.

Had Columbus correctly reckoned the size of the globe and the true length of the voyage he proposed, he probably would not have sailed, since he would have seen at once that the Portuguese route (§ 6) was both far shorter and cheaper than his. Furthermore, if he had imagined that the American continent lay right across his path, that would have been another discouraging circumstance, because his object was not to find a new country, but a new way to an old one.

8. Columbus seeks and obtains the Assistance of Spain. Columbus meditated on his great voyage for many years, during which time he sought to get the help first of his native city, then of Portugal, and finally of Spain (1485-1486). He met with nothing but disappointment. He was regarded as a foolish schemer, and the street boys openly mocked him as a lunatic.

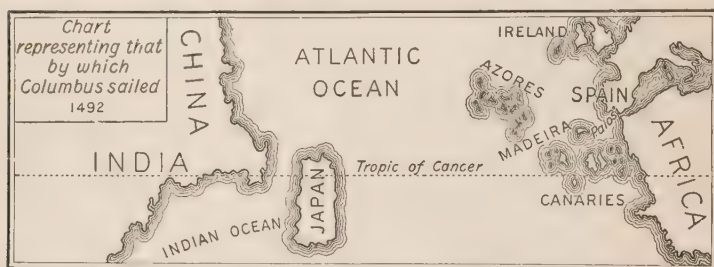
At last, worn out with waiting, and sick at heart, Columbus set out to leave Spain, but he was recalled. He had a few staunch friends at court who believed, with him, that "wherever ships could sail, man might venture." Through their aid, and especially through the gift of a large sum of money from Queen Isabella, he obtained the assistance he required.¹ Thus, chiefly by a woman's help, the brave sailor got the power to undertake his daring enterprise.

9. Columbus sails. Columbus had succeeded in getting his own terms, — he had received the rank of admiral, he was to be governor of all lands that he might discover or acquire, and he was to have a tenth of whatever treasure he might find. When

¹ The whole amount raised to fit out the expedition was about \$93,000, of which sum the Queen seems to have contributed over two thirds. See Harris's "Columbus."

all was ready for the voyage he and his men went to church, and implored the blessing of God on their great enterprise. The next day, Friday, August 3, 1492, "half an hour before sunrise," Columbus set sail from Palos, Spain, with three small vessels and one hundred and twenty men.¹

Of these vessels, only the largest, the Admiral's ship, had an entire deck, and even that was probably of not over one hundred tons' burden, or about the size of an ordinary coasting schooner.

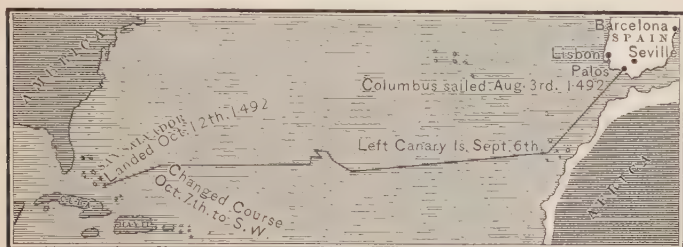


CORRECT CHART OF WESTWARD ROUTE FROM EUROPE TO ASIA, FOR
COMPARISON WITH THE CHART OF COLUMBUS GIVEN ABOVE

¹ Columbus kept a regular journal of the voyage from the start. In the introduction to that journal he says, respecting one object he had in view: "In consequence of the information which I had given to your Highnesses [the King and Queen of Spain] of the lands of India, and of a prince who is called the Grand Khan, which is to say . . . King of Kings . . . therefore your Highnesses . . . determined to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the said parts of India to see the said prince and the people and lands . . . and to discover the means to be taken for the conversion of them to our holy faith; and ordered that I should not go by land to the East, by which it is the custom to go, but by a voyage to the west, by which course, unto the present time, we do not know for certain that any one hath passed."

Columbus took his route by way of the Canary Islands, because Japan, the nearest Asiatic land, was supposed to lie in that latitude. (Maps, pp. 8, 9.) At the Canaries he was detained several weeks repairing the rudder of one vessel and altering the sails of a second.

On September 6 he hoisted anchor and resolutely set out to cross that ocean which no civilized man had ever before attempted to pass over. As the last dim outline of the islands faded from their sight many of the sailors were completely overcome. Some shed tears, as if they "had taken leave of the world";



ROUTE OF COLUMBUS, 1492

others, unable to restrain their grief, broke out into loud and bitter lamentations.

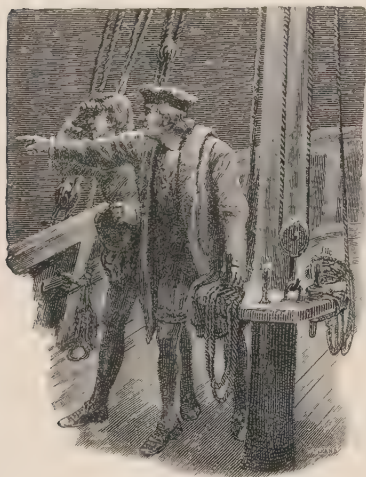
But Columbus himself had no such fears. He did not feel that he was making a leap in the dark. He was an experienced navigator, and he had carefully calculated everything and provided for everything.

1. He had a chart of the globe, made by himself.
2. He had the mariner's compass for his guide.
3. He carried with him an improved astrolabe, the instrument which was then used for determining position, at sea, by observation of the sun.

But these things were not all. In fact, these were but the material and mechanical means of success. He had the conviction that he was engaged in a Providential work, and that he was certain to accomplish it. There are occasions in life when such a faith is worth everything to its possessor: this was one.

10. The Voyage; Variation of the Needle; the Crew are greatly alarmed; the Winged Guides. For a time all went well; then a new and strange circumstance was noticed. It was found that the compass no longer pointed toward the north star, but that it varied more and more, as they went on, to the west of north.

This astonished Columbus and greatly alarmed the sailors. They began to think that they had now entered a region where the ordinary laws of nature were suspended, and that to persist in keeping on would be destruction. Columbus pacified their fears as best he could. He, however, would not hear of turning back then, though he afterward promised to do so if land was not discovered in a few days.



COLUMBUS SEES A DISTANT LIGHT

On October 7 a flock of land birds was seen flying toward the southwest, and Columbus decided to change his course and follow them.¹

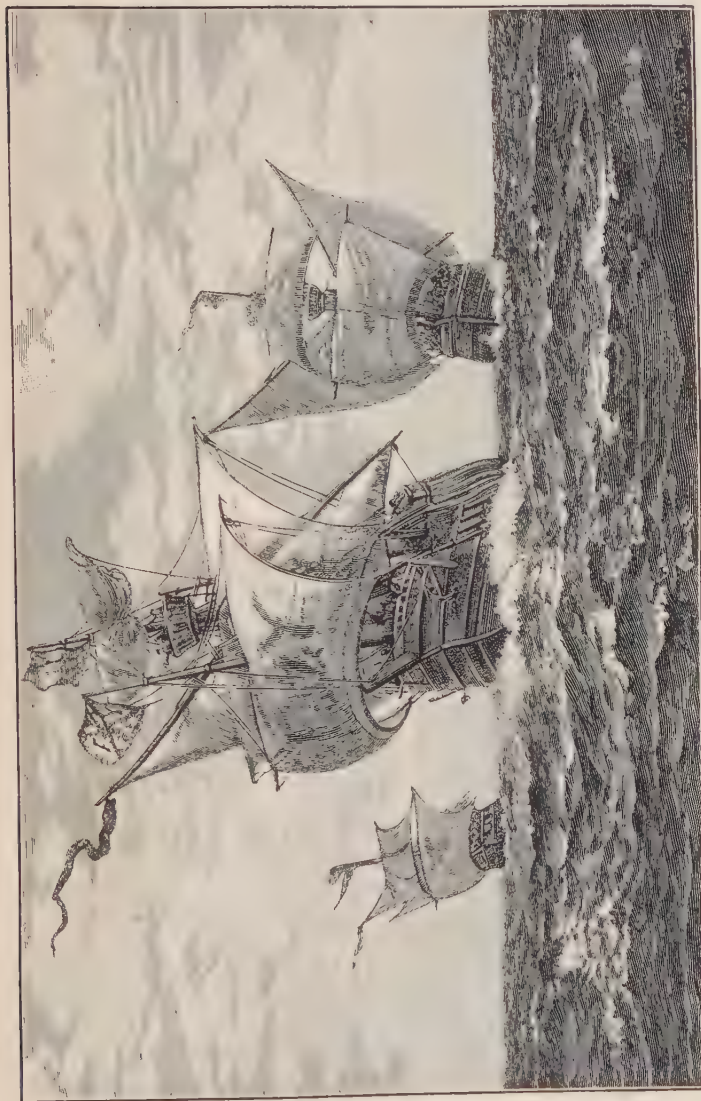
11. Land! San Salvador; the West Indies and the Indians. A few nights later, when Columbus

was standing on the deck of his ship peering into the darkness, he suddenly saw a distant light. It moved about like a torch, carried in a man's hand.

Very early the next morning, Friday, October 12, 1492, a sailor raised the joyful cry of "Land! Land!" It proved to be a small island of the Bahamas,² now thought to be Watling's Island.

¹ Read Joaquin Miller's spirited poem on Columbus in Lane and Hill's "American History in Literature" [Ginn and Company].

² On his first voyage (1492) Columbus discovered the Bahamas and some of the West India Islands. On his second voyage (1493) he discovered the islands of the Caribbean Sea, besides Jamaica and Porto Rico. On his third voyage (1498) he discovered Trinidad, off the coast of Venezuela, South America; and on the 1st of August, the mainland of that continent, at the mouth of the Orinoco River. On his fourth and final voyage (1502) he explored the coast of Central America and of the Isthmus of Panama. He died in Spain in 1506.



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COLUMBUS APPROACHING LAND

When the sun rose it revealed a low sandy shore. It was the humble threshold of the New World.

Columbus, richly dressed in scarlet, landed with his men. Kneeling, they kissed the soil, and with tears gave thanks to God for having crowned their voyage with success. Then, with solemn ceremonies, the Admiral planted the royal flame-colored banner



COLUMBUS LANDS ON SAN SALVADOR

of Spain, and took possession of the country for Ferdinand and Isabella. To the island he gave the name of San Salvador, or the Holy Redeemer.

Columbus believed this little island to be part of the Indies which he was seeking. Since he had reached it by sailing westward he called the group to which it belongs the West Indies. To the natives he naturally gave the name Indians.

Columbus never found out his mistake in regard to this country. He made three more voyages hither ; but he died firmly convinced that America was part of Asia, and that he had discovered a short and direct all-sea route westward from Europe to the Indies.

We should distinctly understand that Columbus never saw any part of the mainland of what is now the United States.

12. Columbus returns to Spain ; his Reception ; the Pope's Division of the World. Columbus built a small fort in Haiti and left a few men to hold it. He then sailed for Spain (1493).

Ferdinand and Isabella gave the great sailor such a reception as the first civilized man who had crossed the Atlantic merited. Those who a year before had laughed at him as crazy, now, cap in hand, bowed low before him. Yet the only printed account which appeared describing his wonderful voyage was a copy of a letter which he had written to the King and Queen. It was entitled :

"A Letter of Christopher Columbus,

(to whom our Age is much indebted)

respecting the

Islands of India, beyond the Ganges,

lately discovered."¹

One important result of this supposed discovery of a western route to the Indies was the division of the world by the Pope. Spain and Portugal were rivals. Both were eager to get control of the commerce with the Far East — especially with the Spice Islands of the Indies. In order to keep the two nations from fighting each other, the Pope drew a perpendicular line, one hundred leagues west of the Azores, from the north pole to the south pole. The King of Portugal was to have all lands discovered east of that line, and the King of Spain all those west of it. Later (1494), this dividing line was fixed three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands.

13. Disappointment of Spain with the newly found "Indies"; Death of Columbus. Meantime Spain was picturing to herself the unbounded wealth she would gain through future voyages of Columbus. But he failed to find any rich spices or mines of precious metal, and sore was the disappointment. His men brought back no gold, but only a mockery of it in their yellow, emaciated faces, discolored by disease.



MAP SHOWING THE DIVISION
OF THE WORLD MADE
IN 1494

¹ This letter may be found complete in Major's "Select Letters of Columbus."

Loud was the outcry against Columbus. The rabble nicknamed him the "Admiral of Mosquito Land." They pointed at him as the man who had promised everything, but who had found nothing but "a wilderness peopled with naked savages."

So strong was the feeling against him that the King appointed a new governor for the island of Haiti (§ 12). He arrested Columbus

and sent him back in chains to Spain (1500). He was released as soon as he arrived, and lived to make one more voyage. Broken in health, broken in heart, the great sailor died in Spain in neglect and poverty.¹

But though his closing days were pitiful, yet none the less the voice that he imagined he once heard in a dream spoke truly.² He had accomplished what no one else had



COLUMBUS IN CHAINS

done, for he had unlocked "those gates of the ocean," which until

¹ Columbus died at Valladolid in 1506. He was buried there, but later his body was removed to Seville. In 1536 it was transported to the island of San Domingo. After the cession of that island to France by the Spanish the body of Columbus was taken up (*as was then supposed*), carried to Havana, Cuba, and there deposited in the cathedral. These reputed remains were sent back to Spain in December, 1898, and were deposited in the cathedral of Seville. But it may be that the true remains of Columbus still rest in San Domingo.

Three years before his death he wrote to the King and Queen, saying, "I was twenty-eight years old [these figures are believed to be a mistake] . . . when I came into your Highnesses' service, and now I have not a hair upon my head that is not gray: my body is infirm, and all that was left to me has been taken away and sold. . . . Hitherto I have wept over others; may Heaven now have mercy upon me, and may the earth weep for me!"—*Letter of Columbus, 1503.*

² See quotation from the letter of Columbus at the beginning of this chapter, page 1. It was while he lay sick and in great trouble, on the Isthmus of Panama, that he fancied he heard the consoling voice.

then had been "fast shut with chains," — the chains of ignorance and fear. He failed to find the Indies — but he did something immeasurably greater — he discovered *America*.

14. John Cabot discovers the Continent of North America. But great as was the merit of Columbus, he was not destined to be

the first to look on the mainland of America, nor was he to give it the name it bears. The discovery of the continent was made by a fellow-countryman, John Cabot, of Venice, then re-



THE LIGHT PARTS OF THIS MAP SHOW HOW MUCH OF AMERICA COLUMBUS DISCOVERED

siding in Bristol, England. The great voyage of Columbus moved him to see what he could discover. He hoped to find a northern



JOHN CABOT APPROACHING LAND

passage to the Indies and China, in order that he might secure the spice trade for the English sovereign. He failed to discover what he sought; but he did better, for he saw what no civilized man had yet beheld, — the continent of North America. The point where he made the discovery was probably in the vicinity of Cape Breton Island, at the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. On a map drawn by his son Sebastian we read the following inscription :

He hoped to find a northern passage to the Indies and China, in order that he might secure the spice trade for the English sovereign. He failed to discover what he sought; but he did better, for he saw what no civilized man had yet beheld, — the continent of North America. The point where he made the discovery was probably in the

"In the year of our Lord 1497, John Cabot, a Venetian, and his son Sebastian discovered that country which no one before his time had ventured to approach, on the 24th of June, about five o'clock in the morning."

Cabot planted the English flag on the coast, and took possession of the country for Henry VII, King of England.

The next year Sebastian Cabot made a voyage, and explored the coast from Nova Scotia to Cape Hatteras, or perhaps even farther south.



MAP SHOWING HOW MUCH OF
NORTH AMERICA WAS DIS-
COVERED BY THE CABOTS

Henry VII was notoriously fond of money, and knew how to hold on to it; but in this particular case he tried to be generous. He appears to have given John Cabot a small pension; for after his death this memorandum was found in the King's private expense book: *"10th August, 1497. To him that found the new isle, £10."*

The King certainly got his money's worth; for on that voyage of Cabot's the English based their claim to this country. Nearly three hundred years later, Edmund

Burke, the eminent British statesman, said in Parliament, "We derive our right in America from the discovery of [John] Cabot, who first made [saw] the northern continent in 1497."

15. How America got its Name. Two years after John Cabot's voyage (1499) another Italian, Amerigo Vespucci,¹ went out from Spain on an expedition of exploration. Following directly in the track of Columbus, and using his charts, he reached the northeastern

¹ Vespucci's voyages: according to what purports to be his own account, Amerigo Vespucci made his first voyage in the spring of 1497, and saw on June 6th of that year "a coast which," he says, "we thought to be that of a continent." If that coast was the continent, he discovered the mainland of America eighteen days before John Cabot did (June 24, 1497); and more than a year before Columbus saw it, on his third voyage (August 1, 1498). In 1499 Vespucci, following in the track of Columbus, visited the northeastern coast of South America, part of which had been seen and described by the great navigator the previous year. Later,

part of the South American coast, somewhere in what is now Dutch Guiana. In the course of the next four years he made two more voyages in which he visited Brazil.

On his return to Europe he wrote a pretty full account of what he had seen, which was published soon after (1504).

A teacher in the college of St. Dié, in eastern France, read Vespucci's little pamphlet. He was greatly interested in it because it was the first printed description of the mainland of the Western Hemisphere.

In the year 1507 this teacher published a small book on geography. He spoke of the different voyages which had been made across the Atlantic, and ended by saying, "*The fourth part of the world having been discovered by Amerigo or Americus, we may call it Amerigé, or AMERICA.*"

People seemed to like the idea, and so half of the globe received the name it now bears. One Italian had found the outposts of the New World, and claimed them for Spain (§ 11); a second had seen the northern mainland, and taken possession of it for England (§ 14); finally, a third, coming after both the others, gave to it, perhaps without his own knowledge, the title it now possesses in every atlas and history.

No man that ever lived before or since has such a monument as Amerigo Vespucci; for a name derived from his is written across



ST. DIÉ, FRANCE

Vespucci visited Brazil. Authorities are divided, but perhaps the greater part now believe that Vespucci did not make his first voyage until 1499, and that, therefore, John Cabot was the true discoverer of the *continent* of America. (See Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," II, 129-179; Channing's "United States," I, 42-44.)

the map of two entire continents. If he deserved it, it is right that he should have the honor ; but that is a point which cannot be settled. It may be that he has received by chance fame which he did not fairly earn, and which, perhaps, he did not even seek.

16. How America finally came to be considered a New and Distinct Continent. But even after America was named, the idea that it was a distinct and separate division of the globe was not generally accepted. Some thought that South America was a great island or southern continent (like Australia); but the majority believed, with Columbus, that it was simply an immense peninsula projecting from southeastern Asia. People, indeed, spoke of the "New World," but all that they usually meant by that expression was newly discovered lands.

The real character of America was first found by Magellan, a Portuguese captain who crossed the Atlantic in the early part of the 16th century. The King of Spain sent him on a voyage to the southwest (1519), to see if he could find a new way to reach the Spice Islands. He discovered the strait which now bears his name, and, passing through it, entered that great ocean which he called the Pacific.

He pushed on westward until he reached the Philippines, where he was killed by the natives. One ship of the expedition kept on its course until it crossed the Indian Ocean, doubled the Cape of Good Hope (§ 6), and finally reached Spain (1522). (Maps, pp. 5, 8.)

The Spanish King was so pleased with the result that he gave the commander a coat of arms representing a globe bearing the motto : "*You first sailed round me.*"

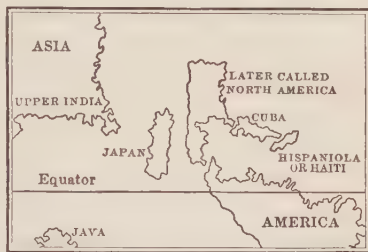
Then men's eyes were opened to the truth. Then they saw that America, instead of being a part of the Old World, was in all probability an immense, independent continent, a real NEW WORLD.

Was that discovery hailed with delight? Not at all. Europe was still bent on finding "that hidden secret of nature," — a direct passage to Asia and the Indies, — and there stood America barring all progress. It is true that when the Spaniards found gold and silver in Mexico and Peru, they became reconciled in a measure to

their disappointment. Still, for more than a hundred years after Columbus, most of the explorers spent their efforts not so much in seeking to find out what was in the new country, as in trying to hit on some passage through it or round it which should be shorter and better than that which Magellan had sailed through.

17. Summary. In 1492 Columbus, while attempting to open up a direct western all-sea route to Asia, accidentally came upon the West India Islands, — in other words, he discovered America. He had no true idea of the magnitude of his discovery, but supposed the land which he had found, and all that which he afterward saw, to be part of Asia. His great merit was this : he was the first civilized man who dared to cross the unknown sea of the Atlantic. The glory of that bold exploit will always be his. John Cabot, a Venetian, discovered the *American continent* in 1497.

The voyages of Amerigo Vespucci, who, like Cabot, was a native of Italy, and therefore a fellow-countryman of Columbus, suggested the name *America*. Last of all, Magellan's expedition round the world (1519-1522) proved the earth to be a globe, and showed that America was, in all probability, a distinct continent, and not a part of Asia.



MAP OF AMERICA¹ FROM A GLOBE
MADE IN 1515

¹ In 1901 a map was found in Germany which eminent scholars believe was made in 1507 by Waldseemüller, the teacher at St. Dié, referred to in § 15. It shows the earliest use of the name *America* on a map. The name is placed on the continent of South America on what is now the northern part of the Argentine Republic. This map of 1507 is not as well adapted to reproduction in a book of this grade as that of 1515, given above, and which may be found in J. Winsor's "America," II, 118. For a reduced copy of that part of Waldseemüller's map of 1507, which shows the name *America*, see E. G. Bourne's "Spain in America," p. 100; for the complete map, see Fischer and Wieser's Atlas of "The Oldest Map with the Name America."

II

The discovery of America was "the great event which gave a new world not only to Spain, but to civilized man." — CHARLES SUMNER.

ATTEMPTS AT EXPLORING AND COLONIZING AMERICA¹

THE COUNTRY · THE NATIVES · EFFECTS OF THE DISCOVERY OF
AMERICA ON EUROPE (1509-1600)

18. Ponce de Leon's Expedition; Discovery of Florida. Early in the sixteenth century the Spaniards conquered Cuba. A number of years later Ponce de Leon, governor of Porto Rico, resolved to start on an exploring expedition to the northward.

De Leon was growing old, but the Indians excited him by telling him of a wonderful land not very far away. They said that he would find plenty of gold there, and a fountain which would make the old young again. He obtained a charter² from the King of Spain, which gave him power to go in search of that land of promise, and when found, to hold it as governor for life. The veteran adventurer felt that if he could once bathe in the waters of the miraculous fountain, and get back his youth, he would be pretty sure of a long term of office.

After cruising about for several weeks he struck the mainland of North America (1513). It was Easter Sunday, a day which the

¹ **Reference Books.** R. G. Thwaites' "Colonies," pp. 1-7, 7-19, 27-44; F. Parkman's "Pioneers of France in the New World," pp. 1-15, 85-162; W. C. Bryant and Gay's "United States" (revised edition), I, ch. 7-10; L. Farrand's "Basis of American History" (The Indians), ch. 14-15; E. G. Bourne's "Spain in America," pp. 108-111, 133-136, 162-168, 169-174, 177-189; L. G. Tyler's "England in America," pp. 18-33; A. B. Hart's "Source Book of American History," pp. 6-14; A. B. Hart's "American History by Contemporaries," I, 57-64, 81-95; G. Bancroft's "United States," I, ch. 2-5; N. S. Shaler's "Story of Our Continent" (Physical Geography, etc.). See also the classified List of Books in the Appendix.

² Charter: a written grant made by the king or head of a government, conferring certain rights and privileges.

Spaniards call Pascua Florida, or Flowery Easter. Shortly after, De Leon landed at a point not very far from where St. Augustine now stands. (Map, p. 29.) There he planted the cross, raised the Spanish flag, and in commemoration of the day when he had first seen the coast, he named the country Florida. Winter is almost unknown in that climate, and the dense foliage and profusion of bright flowers fully justified the name.

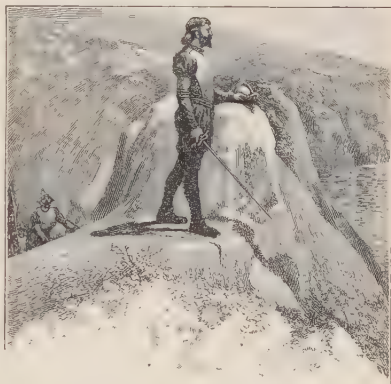
De Leon failed to discover gold. Worse still, he found no magical fountain that could make a man approaching three-score a man of twenty. Disappointed in what he most cared for, he set sail for Porto Rico. Later, he went back to Florida to colonize the country, but was killed by an Indian. Thus the old man found death lurking for him in that "Land of Flowers," where he had hoped to find both riches and his lost youth.

19. Balboa discovers a New Ocean; Cortez in Mexico; his Plans for a Panama Canal. In the autumn of the year when De Leon first saw Florida (1513), Balboa, a fellow-countryman, undertook an exploring expedition on the Isthmus of Panama.

His object was to find a great body of water which the natives told him could be seen toward the south from the top of the mountains. After terrible hardships, Balboa reached the summit of the ridge. Looking down, he beheld that magnificent expanse of water which Magellan, seven years later, sailed across on his way round the world (§ 16).

A number of days afterwards, Balboa, struggling over rocks, wading streams, and cutting his way through tangled vines, succeeded in getting to the shore.

Drawing his sword with one hand, and bearing a banner in the other, he marched out knee-deep into the smooth sea, and took



BALBOA DISCOVERS THE PACIFIC

possession of it and of all lands bordering on it for the sovereigns of Spain. Waving his sword, he said, "I am ready to defend" their claim "as long as the world endures, and until the final day of judgment of all mankind." He named that ocean the South Sea because he first saw it to the south of where he stood, but Magellan named it the Pacific (§ 16).

Six years later, the Spanish general, Cortez, landed in Mexico, conquered that country, and thus established the power of Spain on the Pacific slope of the North American continent.

Cortez saw what an immense advantage it would be to Spain to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Panama. He suggested it to the King, but that prudent monarch refused to undertake a work which he said would drain his treasury of its last cent. To-day the United States has an army of canal laborers on the Isthmus who are "making the dirt fly." Many of them are Spaniards.

20. French Explorations; Montreal. Up to this time France had obtained no part of the New World. But the King of that country did not intend to let the other powers of Europe get it all. The Pope had, as we have seen (§ 12), granted the new lands to the rival nations of Spain and Portugal, but the King of France cared nothing for that. "Show me," said he to the sovereigns of those nations, "the words in the will of 'Father Adam' which divides the earth between the Spanish and the Portuguese, but shuts out the French." No one found it convenient to produce the will, so the King of France sent out an expedition (1524)¹ to obtain his share of America.

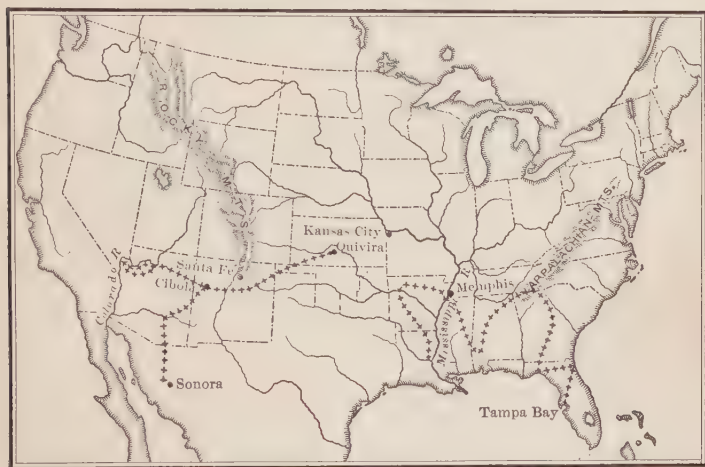
Later (1535), Cartier,² a French navigator, discovered a great river in the northern part of America, to which he gave the name of St. Lawrence. Ascending the stream, he came to an island where he climbed a lofty hill. He was so delighted with the grand view that he called the height Montreal, or Royal Mountain.

¹ This was the expedition said to have been undertaken by Verrazano in 1524. He states that he landed in the vicinity of Cape Fear, North Carolina; then sailed about 150 miles southward along the coast, and then, turning north, sailed to what is now New York Bay, afterward cruising along the coast of New England.

² Cartier made his first expedition in 1534, to Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

21. De Soto's Expedition in the East. Meanwhile De Soto, a Spaniard, as greedy for gold as he was cruel, and as daring as he was greedy, set out on an expedition to the west. He sailed from Cuba (1539) with a force of about 600 picked men and over 200 horses.

The expedition landed at Tampa Bay, Florida, and began its march of exploration, robbery, and murder. The soldiers seized the natives, chained them in couples, and forced them to carry their baggage and pound their corn into meal for them.



DE SOTO'S EXPEDITION IN THE EAST, AND CORONADO'S IN THE WEST

In the course of two years, De Soto and his men traveled upwards of fifteen hundred miles through what are now the states of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. They picked up no gold worth mentioning, but, in place of it, they found hunger, suffering, and death. They deserved what they found.

At length (1541) the Spaniards, worn out, sick, and disheartened, came out from the forest on the banks of the Mississippi.¹ There De Soto called a halt. He was the first white man that had

¹ Probably at or near a place now called De Soto Front, De Soto County, in the north-western corner of the state of Mississippi.

ever looked on the main body of that mighty stream which rolls for nearly three thousand miles through the heart of the continent, and, with its tributaries, has a total navigable length of over twenty thousand miles.

The river at that point is so wide that a person standing on the bank can just see a man standing on the opposite side. Here the Spaniards crossed. They made a long march westward, getting no treasure, but meeting, as they declared, "Indians as fierce as mad dogs." After a time they came back to the great



DE SOTO DISCOVERS THE MISSISSIPPI

river (1542) at that point in Louisiana where the Red River unites with it.

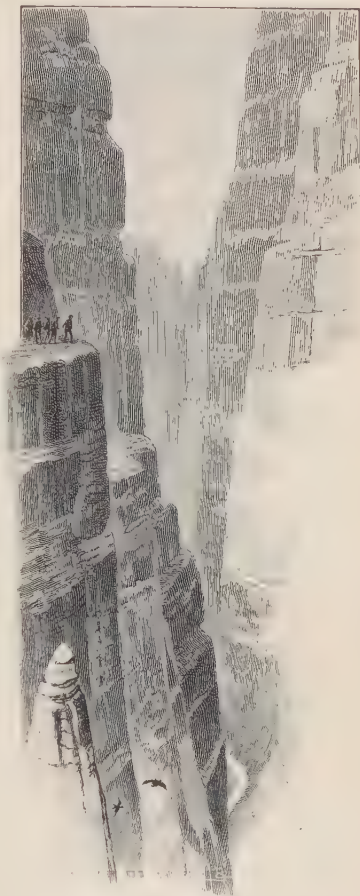
Here De Soto ended his career. Here he died, and was secretly buried at midnight in the muddy waters of the Mississippi.

The survivors at length reached the Spanish settlements in Mexico. They were a forlorn band, half-naked, half-starved, looking worse than the savages they had gone out to subdue.

22. Coronado's Expedition in the West. While De Soto had been moving westward, Coronado, a Spanish governor in Mexico, heard of seven wonderful cities in the northeast. The Indians said that the principal houses of these marvelous cities were ornamented with precious stones, and that the women wore strings of gold beads and the men belts of gold. Coronado set out (1540) to

find and conquer these places. (Map, p. 23.) He discovered the Grand Canyon of the Colorado¹ in Arizona, and a number of Indian pueblos, or villages, in New Mexico, built of stone and adobe or bricks made of mud dried in the sun. But he found no gold, and nothing more valuable than some bright blue stones. Disappointed in his hopes of plunder, he pushed on until he reached the plains of Kansas. There he first saw and hunted the famous "hunchback cows," or buffalo. Had he kept on, he might have met his countryman, De Soto (§ 21); but he was disgusted with the Indians, who were so miserably poor that he could rob them of nothing, so he made his way back to Mexico.

23. Attempts of the Huguenots² to establish Colonies. Menendez destroys them and builds Fort St. Augustine. For twenty years after De Soto's death (§ 21), Florida, with the adjacent country, was left to the undisturbed possession of the Indians. Then (1562) a small party of Huguenots attempted to plant a colony at what is now Port Royal, South Carolina, but the wilderness made them homesick and they soon went back to France.



CORONADO DISCOVERS THE GRAND
CANYON OF THE COLORADO

¹ Canyon of the Colorado: this tremendous gorge extends for over 300 miles. Its rocky walls rise from 3000 to over 7000 feet above the river. Nothing equal to it can be seen in any other part of the world.

² Huguenots: a name given to the early French Protestants. For a full account of them, see "The Leading Facts of French History," in this series.

The next year (1564) a second band of Huguenots landed on the St. Johns River in Florida and built a fort. The King of Spain claimed the whole of that region by right of discovery (§§ 11, 18). He resolved to break up the French settlement, and sent an officer named Menendez to do the work.

Menendez found the French at the mouth of the St. Johns River (1565), but decided not to attack them that day. He sailed southward and built a fort which he named St. Augustine. He then

advanced to the St. Johns, surprised the French garrison, and massacred all but the women and children.

Meanwhile the leader of the French forces had started to attack the Spaniards. Both hated each other, both were equally cruel, and in such a war neither would spare the other. The French ships were wrecked and the soldiers thrown helpless upon the beach. Menendez soon found them and put them to death.

Later, Menendez found the French leader and several hundred more of his men. They were too ex-

hausted to make any resistance. The Spaniards made part of them slaves for life; then they took nearly a hundred and fifty more, bound their hands behind them, and drove them like cattle to St. Augustine. There they slaughtered them. In this way Menendez laid, in blood, the foundations of the oldest town in the United States (1565).

24. Revenge by De Gourgues. A French Catholic named De Gourgues vowed vengeance on the murderers of his countrymen.



DRIVING THE FRENCH CAPTIVES TO
FORT ST. AUGUSTINE

He sailed for Florida. Reaching the St. Johns River, he captured the Spanish garrison that Menendez had left there (§ 23), bound the prisoners, and hanged them. Over their heads he placed a pine board on which he burned these words with a hot iron: "I do this not as to Spaniards, but as to assassins." Then he set sail for France. The French never made a second attempt to colonize Florida, and the Spaniards were left in full possession not only of Florida, but of the whole of North America.

25. English Exploration: Frobisher; Davis; Gilbert; Drake. It was nearly eighty years after John Cabot planted the English flag on the coast of North America (§ 14) before another such expedition was undertaken.

Then (1576) Sir Martin Frobisher, followed by Captain John Davis, made new attempts to discover a northwest passage to the Indies. But the ice fields of the Arctic Ocean compelled them to turn back.

A little later (1578) Sir Humphrey Gilbert set out on a voyage of discovery. He took possession of Newfoundland, but was soon afterward lost at sea.

Meanwhile Sir Francis Drake, a noted English sailor and fighter, started on a piratical expedition against the Spanish settlements on the western coast of America.

He passed through Magellan's Strait (§ 16) into the Pacific, plundering Spanish towns and Spanish treasure ships as he made his way up the coast. He landed at some point in California, probably near the Golden Gate. Then he sailed north as far as the upper part of the state of Washington. (Map, p. 29.) He hoped



DRAKE CLAIMS THE NORTHWEST
COAST FOR ENGLAND

he should have the good luck to discover a strait leading through to the Atlantic, so that England could establish direct trade with China and the Indies. Failing in that, he took possession of the whole northwest coast of America in the name of Queen Elizabeth.

Crossing the Pacific, he returned to England by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Like Magellan (§ 16), he had "plowed a furrow round the world." He was the first Englishman to perform that feat (1577-1580).

26. Walter Raleigh's Exploring Expedition to Virginia. A few years later (1584) Queen Elizabeth granted one of her favorites, Walter Raleigh, a charter giving him the right to explore and settle the eastern coast of America.

He was one of the few men of that day who believed that the northern part of the New World was worth settling. Most of the expeditions that had crossed the Atlantic went out mainly to discover a way through or round the continent to Asia (§§ 14, 16, 25); but Raleigh thought that England might find that America would be worth as much as Asia, or even more.

He sent out two ships (1584) to explore. The English reached Roanoke Island, off the coast of what is now North Carolina. The explorers were delighted with the "native Americans," and spent several weeks "eating and drinking very merrily" with the red men. When the explorers returned to England, the Queen was so highly pleased with their description of the "Good Land" that she named it Virginia, in honor of her own maiden life, and knighted the fortunate Raleigh, who now became Sir Walter.

27. Sir Walter Raleigh's Colony; the New "Root" and the New Weed. Raleigh sent out a number of emigrants to make a settlement on Roanoke Island (1585). They stayed less than a year and then returned to England.

Still the experiment was not a complete failure, for they carried back a peculiar kind of "root"—as they called it. The English baked it and found it excellent. Thus the potato¹ became an article of food in the British Islands.

¹ The potato, by which is meant the common, not the sweet, potato, was not cultivated by the Indians. Strictly speaking, the potato is not a true root, but an underground stem.

28. Raleigh sends out a Second Colony. Raleigh, though disappointed at the return of his first colony, resolved to send out a second (1587). John White, the governor of the new colony, laid the log foundations of the "City of Raleigh."

The Governor's daughter, Eleanor Dare, was the wife of one of the settlers. Shortly after her landing, Mrs. Dare gave birth to a daughter. She was the first child born of English parents in America, and was baptized by the name Virginia.

Governor White soon sailed for England to get further help for the colony, leaving his daughter and his granddaughter, little Virginia Dare, to await his return. That was the last he ever saw of them. When he returned the island was deserted; not one of the colonists was ever found. Sir Walter Raleigh was obliged to give up his project; and America was left with not a single English settler, but with many "English graves."

Raleigh had spent over forty thousand pounds on the colony. He could do no more; but he said, "I shall live to see it an English nation." He did live to see a permanent English settlement established in Virginia in 1607. A hundred and eighty-five years after that event (1792) Sir Walter's name was given to the seat of government of North Carolina, and thus the "City of Raleigh" was enrolled among the capitals of the United States.

Sir Walter's example was not lost; for from his day England kept the colonization of America in mind, until it was finally accomplished. For these reasons Raleigh is rightly regarded as one of the founders of the American nation.

29. White Settlers in 1600 in what is now the United States. As late as the year 1600 there seemed small promise that this country would ever be settled and governed by the English-speaking race. Look at the situation. More than a hundred years had passed since Columbus landed, yet the only white inhabitants of the territory now embraced in the United States were a few hundred Spaniards in St. Augustine, Florida (§ 23), and perhaps a few hundred more in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Over the rest of the country, embracing more than three millions of square miles, the Indians ruled supreme. France had tried

to get a foothold on the Atlantic coast and had failed (§§ 23, 24); England had tried and failed likewise (§§ 26-28). Spain alone had succeeded. In 1600 it certainly looked as though her flag was destined to wave over the whole continent from sea to sea.

30. What America was found to be; its Physical Geography.

Looking at the territory now included in the United States, let us see what the explorers of that age, and of a later one, found America to be. In great measure it seemed to them Europe repeated. It has practically the same climate and the same soil. It produces, or is capable of producing, the same trees, the same fruits, the same crops, with the valuable addition of cotton, sugar, and rice. In all ways it is equally favorable to human health and life.

But this is not all. In two important respects America is superior to Europe. That continent commands the Atlantic only; but America commands two oceans, — the Atlantic and the Pacific. We can send our ships direct to Europe and Africa from our eastern coast, and from our western coast we can send them direct to Asia and Australia. This is our first advantage.

Our second advantage is, that though America repeats all the natural features of Europe, — its lakes, mountains, plains, rivers, and forests, — yet it repeats them on a far grander scale. Europe has no chains of mountains which can compare with the "Rockies," no lakes equal to our Great Lakes, no river like the Mississippi, no falls like Niagara, no chasm like the Canyon of the Colorado (§ 22), no prairies like those of our western states.

In fact, no continent on the globe ranks higher than America, and the United States holds the best part of it. Besides the natural wealth our country possesses above ground in its climate, soils, and forests, it has vast stores of wealth underground.

Look at its quarries of stone for building, its beds of clay for making brick, its varied mineral products, gold, silver, copper, and lead. Better still, it has immense mines of the two most useful minerals known to man — coal and iron. From these gifts of nature we have drawn riches for generations; now we shall safeguard them against waste (§ 430, No. 3), so that we may continue to draw riches from them for generations to come.

That distinguished English statesman, the late William Gladstone, declared that "America has a natural base for the greatest continuous empire ever established by man." Later on we shall see that the physical geography of our country has had a most important influence on its history. (Map, p. 43.)

Such was the land spread out before the explorers. It seemed to offer to all who were disappointed with the Old World an opportunity to try, in America, what they could make of life under new and broader conditions.

31. The Indians; the Population then and now. One strange fact about the country was that east of the Mississippi the whole vast area was well-nigh a solitude. Where to-day more than fifty million white men live, there were then only two or three hundred thousand Indians. Sometimes the explorers would travel for days without meeting a human being. The only roads through the forests were narrow Indian trails; the only farms were scattered patches of Indian corn; the only cities and towns were occasional clusters of Indian wigwams.¹ The truth is, that the Indians did not really occupy the land: they simply possessed it. To them it was mainly a hunting ground to roam over or a battlefield to fight on.

32. Personal Appearance of the Indians; the "Scalp Lock." Columbus called the natives Indians (§ 11), but they called themselves simply "Men," or "Real Men"; "Real Men" they certainly often proved themselves to be. The most numerous body of Indians in the East was the Algonquins; the ablest and the most ferocious was the Iroquois. (Map, p. 36.) They were a tall, well-made race, with a color usually resembling that of old copper.

The men cut all of their hair off close to the head, with the exception of a ridge or lock in the middle. That was left as a point of honor. It was called the "scalp lock." Its object was to give an adversary—if he could get it—a fair grip in fight, and also to enable him to pull his enemy's scalp off as a trophy of the battle. That lock was the Indian's flag of defiance. It waved above his head as the colors do over a fort, as if to say, "Take me if you can!"

¹ See Whitelaw Reid's "Greatest Fact in Modern History."

33. How the Indians lived. The Indians were savages, but seldom degraded savages. They lived by hunting, fishing, and farming. Their farming, however, was of the rudest kind. For weapons they had bows and arrows, hatchets made of flint, and heavy clubs.

The Indian believed in a strict division of duties. He did the hunting, the fighting, the scalping; his wife did the work. She built the wigwam, or hut, of bark.¹ She planted and hoed the corn and tobacco. She made deerskin clothes for the family. When they moved, she carried the furniture on her back. Her house-keeping was simple. She kindled a fire on the ground by rubbing



two dry sticks rapidly together; then she roasted the meat on the coals or boiled it in an earthen pot. There was always plenty of smoke and dirt, but no one complained. Housecleaning was unknown.

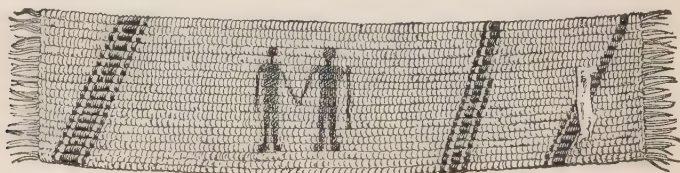
34. The Moccasin; the Snowshoe; the Birch-Bark Canoe. The most ingenious work of the Indians was seen in the moccasin, the snowshoe, and the birch-bark canoe. The moccasin was a shoe made of buckskin, — durable, soft, pliant, noiseless. It was the best covering for a hunter's foot that human skill ever contrived.

¹ The wigwams were of various kinds. Some would hold only a single family; others, as among the Iroquois tribe, were long, low tenement houses, large enough for a dozen or more families. Some wigwams were made of skins or built of logs.

The snowshoe was a light frame of wood, covered with a network of strings of hide, and having such a broad surface that the wearer could walk on top of the snow in pursuit of game. Without it the Indian might have starved in a severe winter, since only by its use could he run down the deer at that season.

The birch-bark canoe was light, strong, and easily propelled. It made the Indian master of every lake, river, and stream. Wherever there were water ways he could travel quickly, silently, and with little effort. He could go in his own private conveyance from the source of the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico; or he could go from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the Falls of Niagara; then he could pick up his canoe, carry it round the falls, and begin his journey again on Lake Erie westward to Duluth or Chicago.

35. Indian Government; "Wampum." Each tribe of Indians had a chief, but the chief had little real power. All important matters were settled by councils. The records of these councils were kept in a peculiar manner. The Indian could not write, but he could make pictures that would often serve the purpose of



TREATY BELT MADE OF WAMPUM

writing. The treaty made by the Indians with William Penn was commemorated by a belt made of "wampum," or strings of beads made of shells. It represented an Indian and a white man clasping each other by the hand in token of friendship. That was the record of the peace established between them.

But quite independent of any picture, the arrangement of the beads and their colors had a meaning. When a council was held, a belt was made to show what had been done. Every tribe had its "wampum" interpreters. By examination of a belt they could tell what action had been taken at any public meeting in the past.

The beads of these "wampum" strings had another use: they served for money, and a certain number of them would buy a bushel of corn. But the Indian rarely needed these beads for this purpose. The forest supplied him and his family with food, clothes, and medicine. Under such circumstances a pocket full of money would have been as useless to him as to a bear.

36. Social Condition of the Indians; "Totems." The Indian had less liberty than the white man. He was bound by customs handed down from his forefathers; he could not marry as he pleased; he could not sit in whatever seat he chose at a council; he could not even paint his face any color he fancied, for a young man who had won no honors in battle would no more have dared to decorate himself like a veteran warrior than a private soldier in the United States army would venture to appear at parade in the uniform of a major general.

Each clan had a "totem" or badge, to designate it. The "totem" was usually the picture of a squirrel, crow, or some other wild creature. Among the Iroquois the figures of the Bear, Turtle, and Wolf were the coats-of-arms of the "first families" of the Indian aristocracy. The "totem" was also used as a mark on gravestones and as a seal. When the United States sells a piece of land to a western farmer, it stamps the deed with the government seal, so when an Indian sold a tract of land to a white man, he marked the deed with a rude representation of the "totem" or great seal of his tribe.

→ **37. Indian Religion; Indian Character.** The Indian usually believed in a "Great Spirit" — all-powerful, wise, and good; but he also believed in many inferior spirits, some good and some evil.

Often he worshiped the evil spirits most. He said: The Great Spirit will not hurt me, even if I do not pray to him, for he is good; but if I don't pray to the evil spirits, they may get mad and do me mischief.

Beyond this life the Indian looked for another. There the brave warrior who had taken many scalps would enter the happy hunting grounds; there demons would flog the coward to never-ending tasks.

It has sometimes been said that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian"; but judged by his own standard of right and wrong, the red man was conscientious. He would not steal from his own tribe; he would not lie to his friends; he never became a drunkard till the white man taught him.

38. The Indian's Self-Control; Torturing Captives; Respect for Courage. The Indian rarely expressed his feelings in words, but he frequently painted them on his face in red, black, or yellow paint. You could tell by his color whether he meant peace or war, whether he had heard good news or bad. He sometimes laughed and shouted; he seldom, if ever, wept. From childhood he was

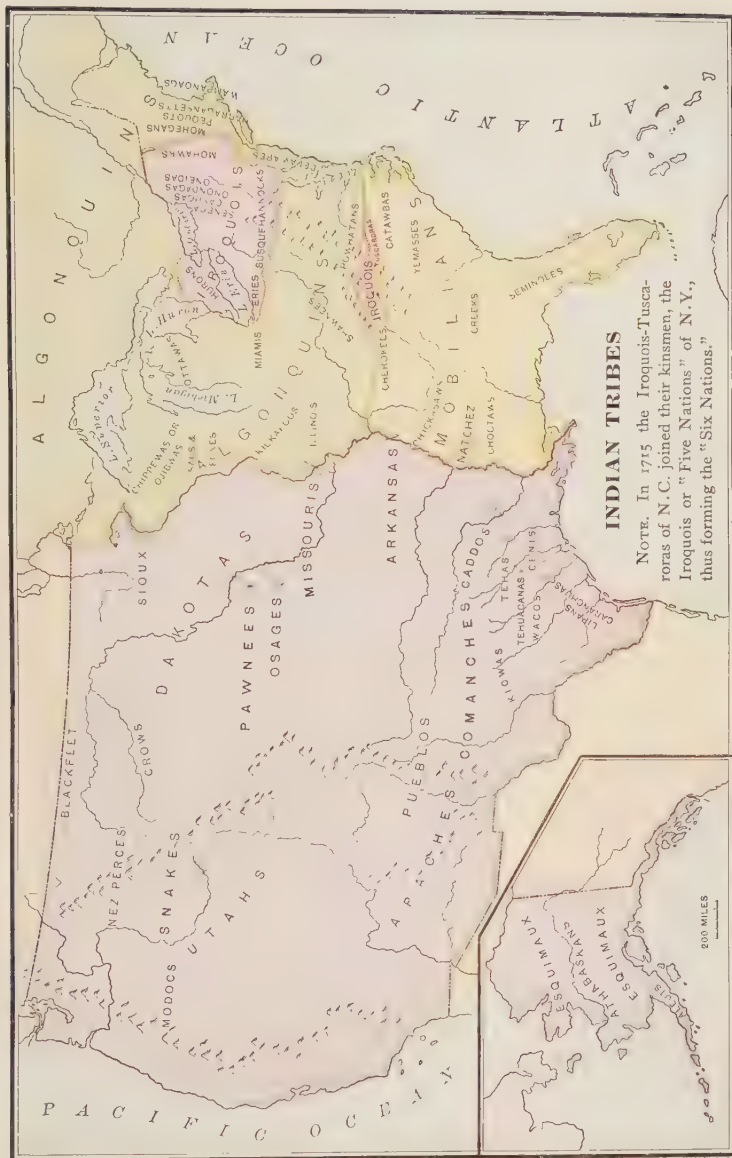


STARK RUNNING THE GANTLET

taught to despise pain. A row of little Indian boys would sometimes put live coals under their naked arms and then press them close to their bodies. The game was, to see which one would first raise his arms and drop the coal. The one that held out longest became the leader. If an Indian had met with an accident, and was mortally wounded, he scorned to complain; he sang his "death song" and died like a veteran warrior.

The Indians either adopted their captives or tortured them. They liked to see how much agony a captive could bear without crying out. The surest way for a prisoner to save his life was to show that he was not afraid to lose it. The red man never failed to respect courage.

When General Stark of New Hampshire was taken prisoner by the Indians (1752), he was condemned to run the gantlet.



Two long rows of stalwart young warriors were formed. Each man had a club or stick to strike Stark as he passed. But Stark was a match for his tormentors. Just as he started on the terrible race for life he snatched a club out of the hands of the nearest Indian, and knocking down the astonished savages right and left, he escaped almost unhurt. The old men of the tribe, who stood near, roared with laughter to see the spruce young warriors sprawling in the dust. Instead of torturing Stark, they treated him as a hero.

39. The Indian and the White Man; what the White Man learned from him. The Indian was a treacherous and cruel enemy, but a steadfast friend.

He would return good for good, but he knew nothing about returning good for evil; on the contrary, he always paid bad treatment by bad treatment and never forgot to add some interest. If he made a treaty he kept it sacredly; it is said that in no instance can it be proved that he was first to break such an agreement. Those of the early white settlers who made friends with the red man had no cause to regret it.

The Indian's school was the woods. Whatever the woods can teach that is useful, — and they can teach much, — that he learned. He knew the properties of every plant, and the habits of every animal. The natives taught the white man many of these things and helped him to get fish and furs; but the most useful thing they taught the European settlers was how to raise corn in the forest without first cutting down the trees.

They showed them how to kill the trees by burning or girdling them. Then, when the leaves no longer grew, the sun would shine on the soil and ripen the corn. There were times in the history of the early settlements of white men when that knowledge saved them from starvation, for often they had neither time nor strength to clear the soil for planting.

40. Influence of the Indians on the Early History of the Country. But we shall see that the contact between the red men and the white men had influences in other ways. Sometimes the red men and the white settlers made covenants of friendship and

agreed to help each other fight; for instance, the Iroquois Indians in New York state agreed to help the English fight the Canadian French. By doing so, they enabled the English to keep possession of the Hudson River. If the Canadian French could have got that river, they might have separated the English colonists in New England from those in Pennsylvania and Virginia and so have got the control of a large part of the Atlantic coast.

Finally, the Indian wars prevented the English from scattering over the country. These contests forced the white men to stand by each other, and thus trained them for union and for independence.

41. Effects of the Discovery of America on Europe. What, now, were the effects of the discovery of the New World on Europe? They may be summed up as follows:

1. There was a sudden and immense increase of geographical knowledge. That made it necessary to construct an entirely new map of the globe. That map showed what no other ever had — the continents of North and South America and the Pacific Ocean.

2. The New World invited new enterprise: it offered vast regions to be explored and conquered. Spain, Portugal, France, and England began to plan western empires beyond the Atlantic. These plans gave rise to a struggle for the mastery, and to important and decisive wars, especially between England and France. Men of every rank turned their attention to America, — some sought wealth, others political power, others a refuge from religious or political oppression. Here was room and opportunity for all.

3. The discovery of the precious metals in Mexico and South America had far-reaching effects. Before those mines were found there had often been great scarcity of gold and silver in Europe. But the treasure Spain obtained from America enabled her monarchs to equip armies, build palaces, and make public improvements of all kinds. Thus the riches which poured in from the New World gave a great impulse to the life of the Old World.

4. Intercourse with America had an immense influence on trade and navigation. Before Columbus sailed, the commerce of Europe was confined chiefly to the Mediterranean. Then little vessels crept cautiously along the shore, peddling out their petty cargoes from port to port. But now men began to build large and strong ships, fit to battle with Atlantic storms, and ocean commerce commenced. Trade took its first great step toward encircling the globe.

5. New products were obtained from America. We gave Europe Indian corn,¹ the tomato, the turkey, and the potato, for which tens of thousands of half-fed European laborers were grateful.

We also gave the people of Europe such luxuries as cocoa and tobacco, and such drugs, dyestuffs, and valuable woods and gums as Peruvian bark, cochineal, logwood, mahogany, and india rubber.

6. Before the discovery of America sugar, cotton, rice, and coffee, when used at all, were imported by Europe from the Indies.

But these things were then so costly that only the rich could afford to use them. Now they were either rediscovered in America, or transplanted here. In time they became cheap and plentiful, so that even the poor of the Old World came to regard them as necessities of life.

7. But the discovery of America had still greater results, for it made men's minds grow larger because it compelled them to think of a much larger world than they had ever thought of in the past. The voyage to America was like a journey to another planet. It made the people of Europe acquainted with a new race—the Indians—and with new animals, new plants, new features of nature, new fields of enterprise. Everybody felt that America meant *opportunity*. That was a wonderful thought. It filled the minds and hearts of men with new hope, with new courage, and it stimulated them to undertake what they would not have dared to do before.

¹ Maize, or Indian corn, if not first introduced to Europe from America, was first practically introduced from here; so, too, was india rubber.

42. Summary. The period embraced in this section covers the greater part of a century. In it we have three classes of discoveries and explorations :

1. Those of the Spaniards ; these were confined to the south. They comprised Florida, the Pacific, the Mississippi River, Mexico, and part of the country north and east of it.

2. Those of the French ; these related to the river St. Lawrence and to expeditions to the eastern coast of Florida and vicinity.

3. Those of the English ; these included explorations in the north, those of Drake on the Pacific, but, more important than all, those sent out by Raleigh to Virginia.

We have followed the Spanish expeditions of Ponce de Leon, Balboa, Cortez, De Soto, and Coronado. We have witnessed the struggle between the French and the Spaniards for the possession of Florida, and have seen it end with the triumph of the Spaniards and the founding of St. Augustine (1565), the oldest town in the United States.

On the other hand, we have seen that the English expeditions of Frobisher, Davis, and Gilbert, with Raleigh's attempts to establish a colony in Virginia, all failed, and that the country was left in 1600 with no white occupants but the Spaniards, who seemed destined to keep all of America to themselves.

Finally, we have compared the physical geography of America with that of Europe, considered the effects of the contact of the white men and the Indians, and have set forth the important results of the discovery of America on Europe.

III

"It cannot be denied that with America and in America a new era commences in human affairs." — DANIEL WEBSTER.

PERMANENT ENGLISH AND FRENCH SETTLEMENTS¹

THE THIRTEEN COLONIES · FRENCH EXPLORATION OF THE WEST · WARS
WITH THE INDIANS AND WITH THE FRENCH · COLONIAL LIFE ·
GENERAL VIEW OF THE COLONIES (1607-1763)

I. VIRGINIA, 1607

43. The desire to go to Virginia; King James I grants a charter. At the beginning of the seventeenth century work was hard to find in England. This caused much distress, and thousands who were out of employment naturally turned their eyes toward America. Many felt that Virginia (§ 28) stood like an open door inviting them to settle in the New World.

¹ **Reference Books.** (1st, *The Thirteen Colonies.*) R. G. Thwaites' "Colonies," ch. 4-10, 13; W. C. Bryant and Gay's "United States" (revised edition), I, ch. 11-21; II, ch. 1-19; G. Bancroft's "United States" (revised edition), I, Part I, ch. 6-19, Part II, ch. 1-19; II, Part III, ch. 1-4, 15-16; R. Hildreth's "United States," I, ch. 3-15; II, ch. 16-24; A. B. Hart's "Source Book," ch. 3-5, 7-8; A. B. Hart's "American History by Contemporaries," I, ch. 6, 8, 10-26; II, ch. 3-16; L. G. Tyler's "England in America," ch. 3-19; C. M. Andrews' "Colonial Self-Government," ch. 1-19; E. B. Greene's "Provincial America," ch. 1, 15-18. (2d, *The French Exploration of the West.*) Bryant and Gay (above), II, ch. 21; F. Parkman's "Discovery of the Great West," ch. 5-20; R. G. Thwaites' "France in America," ch. 4; Hart's "Source Book" (above), p. 96; Hart's *Contemporaries* (above), I, 136, 140.

(3d, *The French and Indian Wars.*) Thwaites' "Colonies" (above), pp. 254-257, 277-278; A. B. Hart's "Formation of the Union," pp. 23-41; F. Parkman's "A Half-Century of Conflict," II, ch. 18-20; F. Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe," II, ch. 24-25, 27-28; Hart's *Contemporaries* (above), II, ch. 19-20.

(4th, *The Colonies in 1763.*) G. C. Eggleston's "Life in the Eighteenth Century," ch. 13, 17, 19-21; E. Eggleston's "American Colonists," in the *Century Magazine*, March and May, 1883, January, June, and October, 1884, and April and July, 1885; J. Schouler's "Americans of 1776." See also the classified List of Books in the Appendix.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

See Winsor's "America," II, i-xxx; Shaler's "United States," and "Our Continent"; Farrand's "Basis of American History"; Semple's "American History and its Geographic Conditions."

The physical geography of the United States has had and must continue to have a powerful influence, not only on the health and industry but on the character and progress of the American people.

I. The English colonies were planted on rivers or harbors which invited settlement and favored their commercial intercourse with the mother country, with the West Indies, and with each other.

II. The Appalachian range barred the West against the colonists and confined them to a long, narrow strip bordering on the sea. This limitation of soil had important effects on the occupations and the exports of the settlers, while it encouraged the development of union, political strength, and independence.

III. The Canadian French, on the other hand, having control of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, soon got temporary possession of the Mississippi Valley. This led to a war which ended by giving the West to the English colonists.

IV. The first English-speaking settlements made west of the Alleghenies were planted on streams flowing into the Mississippi, — a river system 35,000 miles in extent, watering the great central valley of the continent. Later, the steamboat made that vast region accessible in all directions.

V. After the colonies secured their independence, the boundaries of the American Republic were fixed by successive treaties. These boundaries were determined, to a great extent, by (1) coast lines; (2) rivers and lakes; (3) watersheds; (4) mountain ranges. In 1783 our possessions bordered upon the Atlantic only; in 1803 they touched the Gulf of Mexico; in 1846 they reached the Pacific (see "Table of Boundaries").

VI. The most pressing question with every rapidly growing people is that of food supply. Some nations of Europe — notably Great Britain — can only feed themselves by importing provisions. America is so fortunate in soil, climate, and extent of territory, that the people produce not only all the breadstuffs and meats they require, but they have an immense surplus for exportation.

VII. Next in importance to grain and meats are cotton, wool, timber, coal, petroleum, iron, copper, and the precious metals. These products are powerful factors in the development of modern civilization, and it is believed that no continent is richer in them than our own.

VIII. While cotton fastened slavery on the South, the abundant water power of New England gave the first impulse to American cotton manufacturing. On the other hand, the western prairies stimulated agriculture and immigration, and encouraged the building of railways, which in twenty years did more to open up the country than two centuries had done before. Again, physical geography has influenced legislation respecting labor, the tariff, trade, currency, and the building of roads and canals; furthermore, it determined decisive military movements in the Revolution (see Washington's retreat across the Delaware, § 173) and the Civil War (see §§ 334, 335, 336).

IX. Experience proves that the physical conditions of the United States favor health, vigor, and longevity. Statistics show that in size and weight the American people are fully equal, if not, indeed, superior, to Europeans, while their average length of life appears to be somewhat greater (see Rhodes's "United States," III, 73, 74).

X. The conclusion of eminent scientists is that no part of the globe is better suited to the requirements of one of the master races of the world than the United States, and such statesmen as Lincoln and Gladstone have declared their belief that this country has a natural base for the greatest continuous empire ever established by man.



From Frye's Complete Geography, by permission of Alex. E. Frye

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE UNITED STATES

Virginia was a country of vast extent. It stretched northward from Cape Fear to the middle of Nova Scotia, — a distance of a thousand miles ; westward it reached to the Pacific.

King James I granted a charter authorizing two trading companies in England to send out emigrants. The London Company had the right to plant a colony in the southern part of Virginia, while the Plymouth Company had power to plant one in the northern part, but it never succeeded in doing so. (Map, p. 51.)

Both companies were full of great expectations. They hoped to find mines of gold and silver in the Virginia woods, or, if they failed in that, to find a water passage through the country to the Pacific, the Indies, and the Spice Islands (§ 14).

44. Government of the Virginia Colonies. The royal charter provided that each colony should be governed by a council in Virginia, which was subject to a council in England under control of the King.

The most important article in the charter was that in which the King declared that the settlers in Virginia *should enjoy all the rights and privileges possessed by the people living in England*. This article he repeated in many other colonial charters. We ought to bear in mind that the English sovereign was the only one in Europe who would grant such an advantage as that to those who left their homes to go to America.

Many additional instructions were given, among them were four which required :

1. That the colonists should establish the Church of England as the only form of worship.

2. That for five years no land should be granted to any settler, but all were to deposit the products of their labor in the Company's warehouses, from which they would receive necessary supplies of provisions and clothing.

3. The colonists were expected to carefully explore all the rivers near them to see if they could find a short and easy way by which vessels might get to the Pacific Ocean.

4. The colonists were ordered to take pickaxes with them to dig for precious metals.

45. The London Company's Colony sails; Captain John Smith. The London Company (§ 43) soon sent out emigrants. Very few of them were fit to struggle with the rough life of the American wilderness. The majority had no intention of remaining. They expected to pick up fortunes and then go back to England to spend them.

Luckily there was a young man of decided ability among them. This was Captain John Smith. His energy and courage saved the emigrants from starvation.

46. The Emigrants settle Jamestown, Virginia, 1607; Condition of the Colony. The expedition reached the American coast in the spring of 1607. The colonists numbered 104; all were men. They sailed up a river of Virginia, which they named the James River, in honor of the King; for the same reason they named the settlement which they began (May 13) on a peninsula (now an island) on that river, Jamestown.

But although the royal charter gave the settlers the same rights in America which they had enjoyed in England (§ 44), yet they did not receive them at once. At home many of them had the power to vote and to take part in making the laws by which they were governed; in the Virginia forests they could do neither. But we shall see that some years later the colonists obtained all the rights which the King had promised them.

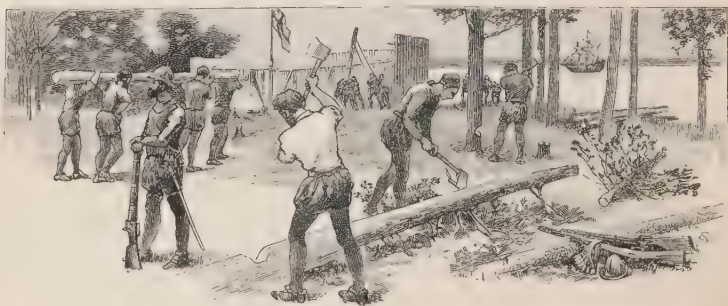
Next, they owned no land, and the work of their hands did not belong to them. In this last respect they were worse off than the poorest day laborer they had left behind them. Furthermore, the idle man was certain that he would not suffer, for he could draw provisions out of the common storehouse; the industrious man, on the other hand, knew that by the sweat of his toil he must feed the idle. Yet we should never forget that, in spite of all these drawbacks, this little band of men laid the first foundation stone of the American Republic. Three hundred years later (1907) we celebrated that landing at Jamestown, and the great nations of the world sent war ships to join us in that celebration.

47. Sufferings of the Colonists; Search for the Pacific; Pocahontas. The new settlers built a small fort as a defense against

the Indians. Then instead of building houses they made themselves some rude shelters out of branches of trees or old sails.

Soon many fell sick, and by autumn half of the colonists had died. When the cool weather set in matters began to improve, and the men put up some log cabins for themselves. Later, they urged Captain Smith to lead an exploring expedition to find the Pacific Ocean (§§ 43, 44). They set out in high spirits, supposing that, at that point, the country was less than 200 miles across from the Atlantic to the Pacific!

In the course of the exploration Smith was captured by the Indians, and taken to their chief, Powhatan. The chief was "a tall,



BUILDING THE FORT AT JAMESTOWN

sour-looking old man"; he ordered his warriors to knock Smith's brains out. According to the captain's account, he was saved by Pocahontas, the chief's youthful daughter, who ran up, just as the club was raised, and put her arms around the prisoner's head.¹

Some years afterward, John Rolfe, a Virginia colonist, became interested in Pocahontas. He labored to convert that tender-hearted heathen and make a Christian of her. While engaged in this agreeable work he fell in love with her and married her. The marriage made Powhatan the firm friend of the colony at a time when it needed all the friends it could get.

¹ Up to 1860 the truth of the Pocahontas story had never been questioned; but certain inconsistencies in Smith's account of the affair led the late Mr. Charles Deane to deny its authenticity; see Winsor's "America," III, 161. For a defense of Smith's account, see Professor Arber's edition of Smith's works, and his article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on "John Smith"; also John Fiske's article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1895.

48. Gold? the French settle in Canada (1608); the Colony's Debt to Smith; the Colonists set out to leave Jamestown. Not long after Smith's adventure with the Indians, one of the settlers found a yellowish substance which some said was gold. Smith called it "rubbish," and declared that the American cod fisheries would be worth more to the English people than any gold mine. But the colonists loaded a vessel with the "gilded dust" and sent it home. The stuff turned out to be that worthless kind of glittering iron ore popularly known as "fool's gold."

In the summer of that year (1608) an event occurred destined to have important results. Champlain, a famous French explorer, sailed up the St. Lawrence to Quebec, and there established the first permanent French colony in America. It was the feeble beginning of a rival power which was one day to dispute the right of the English to possess any part of the country.

Shortly after this date Smith was chosen governor of the colony. He made a rule that no one should stand idle. Under him those who tried to live without working soon found that they must also try that harder thing—to live without eating. But the Captain's term of office was short, for he met with a fearful accident that made it necessary for him to return to England. He never revisited the colony.

After he had gone, the Indians began depredations. Everything went to rack and ruin. Sickness and famine set in. In six months only sixty persons were left out of five hundred. A ship came, bringing more colonists and some supplies; but matters looked so discouraging that the settlers resolved to abandon the country and go back to England.

49. Lord Delaware; Governor Dale; the Great Land Reform. Lord Delaware, the new governor sent out from London, met them as they were leaving Jamestown, and compelled them to turn back. He had the power of ruling by military law, and could hang a man without a jury to decide his guilt.

Lord Delaware was succeeded by Governor Dale. He was a stern old soldier, determined to preserve order. If a colonist talked against his regulations, the Governor bored a hole through his

tongue: that kept him quiet for a while. If a man refused to go to church, he put him on short allowance of victuals, and whipped him every day until he begged to hear preaching.

But the new governor was not a tyrant. He really sought the welfare of the colony. He practically abolished the old system of living out of the public storehouse (§ 46). To every settler he gave a small piece of land, and allowed him a certain number of days in the year to work on it for himself.

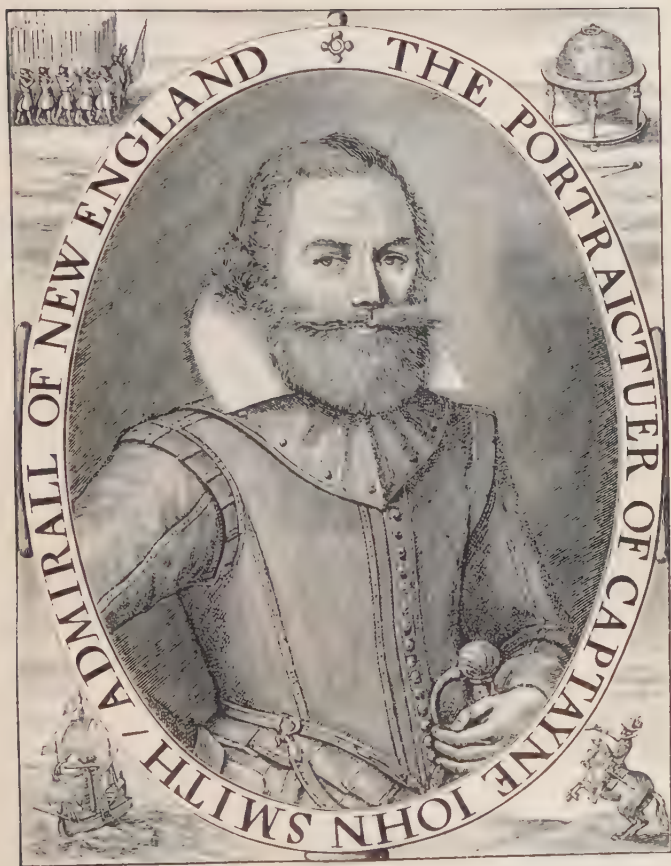
From this time a new spirit animated the community. Before this, no matter how hard a man toiled he had nothing he could call his own. But now every man could look with pride on his little garden, and say, "*This is mine.*" That feeling gave him heart; before, he had worked in silence; now, he whistled while he worked. Before, he had not cared much whether he had the right to vote or not; but now that he was a property holder, he wanted that right, and, as we shall see, he soon got it.

50. What Tobacco did for Virginia. At this time (1612) John Rolfe, the husband of Pocahontas (§ 47), began the systematic cultivation of tobacco (§ 27). In the course of a few years it came to be the greatest industry in Virginia.¹ At one time even the streets of Jamestown were planted with it. It took the place of money, and clergymen and public officers received their salaries in it. Before this, America had practically nothing to export. With tobacco, commerce began; for Europe was ready to buy all the colonists could raise.

The outlook of the colony now began to change for the better. The cultivation of tobacco had four important effects:

1. It directly encouraged the settlers to clear the land and undertake working it on a large scale.
2. It established a highly profitable trade with Europe.
3. It induced emigrants who had some money, and also industrious farmers, to come over to Virginia and engage in the new industry

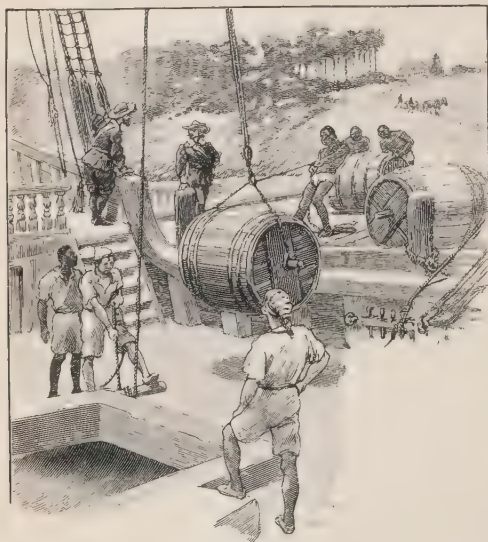
¹ The value of the tobacco crop of the United States is now nearly \$57,000,000 annually; that of cotton, the cultivation of which was begun about the same time, but not then extended, is upwards of \$323,000,000. See Abstract of Census of 1900, p. 220.



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

4. It introduced the importation of negro slaves as the cheapest means of carrying on great tobacco plantations.

The tobacco farms were on the banks of the James or other rivers, and vessels could load at them direct for England. But the cultivation of tobacco exhausted the soil. This compelled the planters to constantly add new land to their estates, and so pushed the owners farther and farther apart from each other.

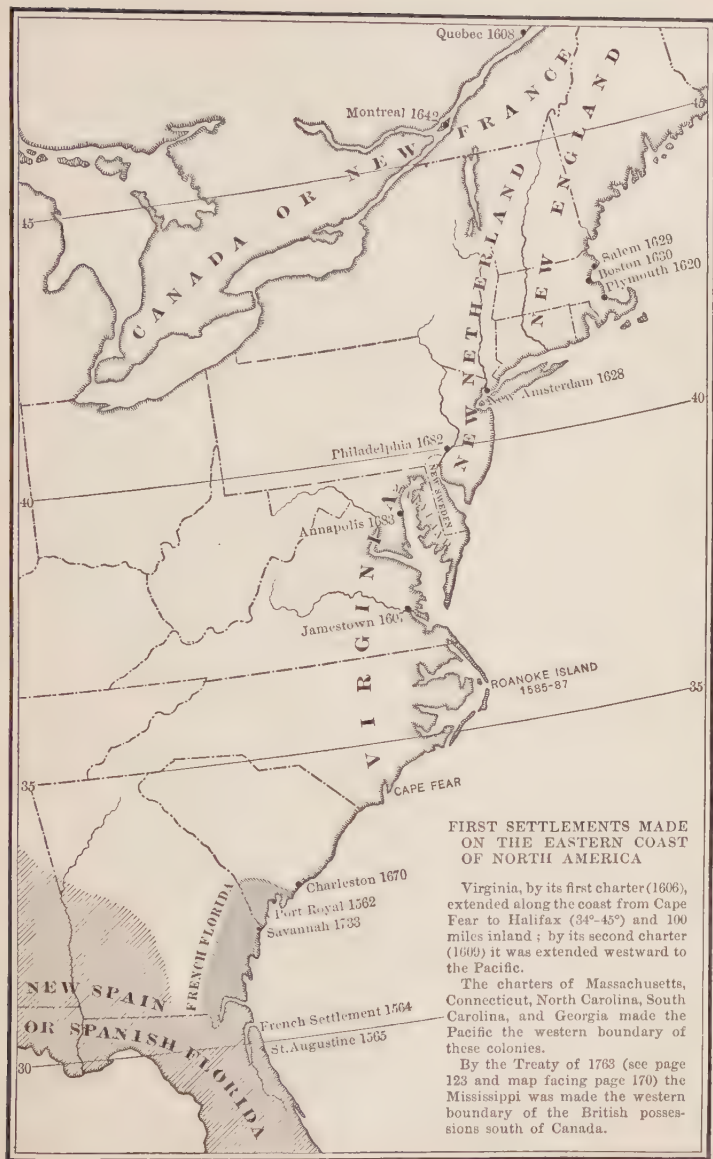


LOADING A CARGO OF TOBACCO

One result of this separation and of the lack of towns was that neither schools nor printing presses came into existence until very late. The mass of the people had to get their education from nature, not from books or newspapers. Another result of the want of towns was that men seldom met to discuss public matters.

51. Virginia becomes practically Self-governing, 1619; Importation of Wives. The year 1619 was a memorable one in the history of the colony. That year Sir George Yeardley came over from England as governor. Acting under instructions from the London Company, he summoned a general assembly or Legislature, to be elected by all the freemen of Virginia. Later, none but taxpayers could take part in the election of members of the Legislature.

The choosing of this Assembly was the first step in carrying out that provision in the charter which gave every colonist *all the rights and privileges he had at home in England* (§ 44).



The colony now consisted of eleven plantations, or towns,¹ later called boroughs. Each of these boroughs was invited to send two representatives or burgesses. They met in the church at Jamestown, Friday, July 30, 1619. This House of Burgesses was the first lawmaking assembly that ever came together in America.

At last the colonists had practically obtained the right of managing their own affairs. Spain would not grant that power to her colonists in St. Augustine or elsewhere. France would not grant it to Quebec or to her other settlements. England gave that privilege — the greatest she could give — to her colonists in the New World. Later, the right was restricted, but it was never wholly taken away. When the American Revolution began we find that Washington, Jefferson, Lee, Patrick Henry, and many other eminent men were active members of the Legislature of Virginia.

But though the men could now discuss politics and make laws, many of them had no proper homes, for but few unmarried women had emigrated to Virginia. To remedy this serious deficiency, the London Company sent out a goodly number of young women. The cost of the passage for each was fixed at 120 pounds of the best tobacco.

When the long-looked-for ship arrived, the young unmarried men were waiting at the wharf, and those who had their tobacco ready soon managed to get wives in exchange. The brides liked the country so well that they wrote back to England, and persuaded more maids to come over and take pity on the forlorn bachelors in the American wilderness.

52. Introduction of Negro Slavery, 1619; White "Apprentices" or "Servants." In the records of this same remarkable year of 1619 we read: "About the last of August came in a

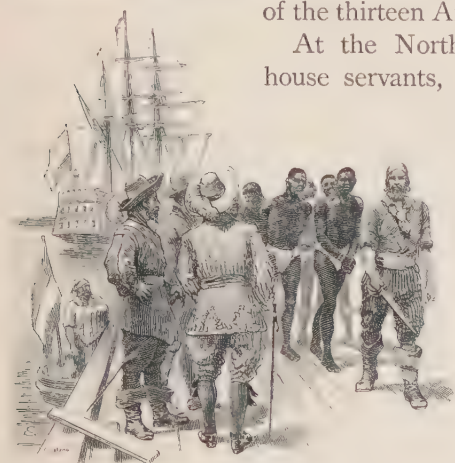
¹ No counties had then been laid out in Virginia. Later, when counties were organized, nearly all the representatives were sent from them. This made the Virginia system of government far less democratic than that of Massachusetts (settled later), for in Massachusetts all public affairs were at first decided by the whole body of voters, and not by a selected number of persons representing them. When the population of Massachusetts became too large for this, the towns, instead of the counties, sent representatives to the Legislature.

Dutch man-of-war that sold us 20 Negars." This was the beginning of African slavery in the English colonies of America.

At that time every leading nation of western Europe traded in negroes. No one then condemned the traffic, for no man's conscience was troubled by it, and at a much later period the King of England derived a large income from selling slaves in America. The system gradually spread over the country, and a little more than a hundred and fifty years later (1776) every one of the thirteen American colonies held slaves.

At the North the negroes were mostly house servants, and were not very numerous; but at the South they were employed chiefly in the fields. Many of the wisest and best men did not then see how tobacco, rice, and cotton could be raised without slave labor.

Still, for a long time the increase of negro slaves in Virginia was very slow, for many white people were sent over from England to be bound out as "ap-



THE FIRST NEGRO SLAVES BROUGHT
TO VIRGINIA

prentices" or "servants" to planters for a certain number of years.

These apprentices came from different classes:

1. Some of them were enterprising young men who wanted to get a start in America, but, having no money to pay their passage, bound themselves to work for the London Company, provided they would bring them over.

2. Some were poor children, picked up in the streets of London and sent over to Virginia to get homes.

3. Others were young men who were kidnaped at night by gangs of scoundrels who shipped them off as "servants" to America.

4. At a later date, when wars and insurrections broke out in England, many prisoners taken in battle were sent over here and sold to planters.

5. Finally, the King sent some convicts to Virginia. Again, English judges opened the jails from time to time and sent over batches of criminals, some of whom had done nothing worse, perhaps, than steal a loaf of bread to keep from starving.

Thus, many elements contributed to build up the new commonwealth. In this respect Virginia resembled the "made land" of some of our cities. There is good material in it, and there is some not so good; but in time it all helps to make the solid foundation of stately streets and broad avenues.

While the South was thus growing, Dutch and English emigrants had settled at the North. The former established themselves in what is now New York, the latter, a little later, founded Plymouth, Massachusetts.

53. Virginia becomes a Royal Province; Governor Berkeley; the Puritans and the Cavaliers. After a time King James I took away the Company's charter (1624). In future the colony was to be governed by the King as a royal province; but the Assembly or Legislature (§ 51) was not prohibited, and the people continued to make their own laws to a considerable extent.

The next king, Charles I, sent over Sir William Berkeley as governor. The new governor had small faith in government by the people, in education of the people,¹ or in any religion but that of the Episcopal Church of England.

The majority of the well-to-do colonists and of the rich tobacco planters agreed with the Governor. They thought it was better not to give the privileges of education and the right to vote and to hold office to everybody who asked for them, but to grant them only to persons of property and standing.

But at that time there was a strong party in England who called themselves Puritans, because they insisted on *purifying*,

¹ Speaking of the colony in 1671, Governor Berkeley said: "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years." His reason was that he thought common-school education would make the mass of the people discontented and rebellious against authority; but he subscribed toward a college.

as they said, the national Episcopal Church from some of its ceremonies and methods to which they conscientiously objected. The Puritans were opposed to King Charles, because he attempted to rule the country contrary to law.

Finally, civil war broke out in England. On one side the King had an army made up of Royalists, or Cavaliers; the army on the other side was made up of Puritans. Many of the Puritans had now left the national Church. They called themselves Separatists, or Independents, and set up a form of worship of their own.

The war went against the King. He was taken captive and beheaded. The Puritans then declared England a republic under Oliver Cromwell, and Governor Berkeley of Virginia, who was a stiff Royalist, retired from office. Most of the leading Cavaliers, or Royalists, were men of rank, and before the war had been men of property. They found the new order of things in England very uncomfortable, and hundreds of them emigrated to Virginia.

Some of the most illustrious names in Virginia history are those of Cavalier emigrants or their descendants. Richard Henry Lee was one, and Washington was probably another.¹ When the American Revolution broke out, these illustrious men gave their strength, heart and soul, to the establishment of the United States of America.

54. Governor Berkeley again in Power; the Navigation Laws; the King gives away Virginia. When monarchy was restored in England (1660), Sir William Berkeley put on the Governor's silk robe of office again. For sixteen years he, with an Assembly that was in sympathy with him, ruled the colony according to his own imperious will. During that long period no new elections were held, and consequently the mass of the people had no voice in the government.

This grievance was not all. During Cromwell's time certain laws, called Navigation Laws, had been enacted in order to prevent the Dutch from competing with England in trade by sea.

¹ On the genealogy of the Washington family in England, see W. C. Ford's "The Writings of Washington," XIV, 319. There is a strong probability that George Washington's ancestors belonged to the Cavalier party which fought for the King.

These laws were not intended to injure the American colonists, but they forbade the colonists to send any tobacco out of the country except in English or colonial vessels going to England, or to purchase any foreign goods except those brought over in English or colonial vessels.

Under King Charles II these laws were made much more strict (1660-1672). However, they were not really as unfair as they seemed (§ 146). But the Virginia planters complained bitterly of them, and they soon found means of doing pretty much as they pleased about obeying them.

Some years later (1673) Charles, who was a wasteful and profligate monarch, gave away the whole of Virginia — a territory then having a population of 40,000 — for thirty-one years, to the Earl of Arlington and Lord Culpepper, two of his favorites. This caused a long and bitter dispute about the question of the true ownership of the land, but it was finally settled in favor of the colonists.

Meanwhile, English emigrants, both Pilgrims and Puritans, as we shall presently see, had established flourishing colonies in New England; the Dutch, who had taken possession of New Netherland (or New York), had been forced to give up that region to the English, and English Quakers had bought New Jersey. In the South, English Catholics had settled in Maryland, and colonies of Englishmen had been founded in the Carolinas. Thus (1675) an English-speaking population practically held control of the whole Atlantic coast of America from Maine nearly to the borders of Florida.

55. Deplorable State of the Virginia Colonists; Indian War; the Bacon Rebellion. The people of Virginia were now in a deplorable state. They had no homes that they could certainly call their own; they had no Assembly that really represented them (§ 51), they were heavily taxed, and sometimes they could get but little for the tobacco they exported. Still their lives were safe, and while life was left, hope was left. But the Indians suddenly rose (1676), as they had just done in New England, and began massacring the inhabitants. It was not the first attack, but, in some respects, the most terrible.

The people begged Governor Berkeley's help, but he did nothing. Then Nathaniel Bacon, a wealthy planter, raised a force and went out to fight the Indians. His influence finally compelled Governor Berkeley to allow the people to elect a new Assembly.

They did so, chose Bacon for one of their representatives, and passed a number of reform measures known as the "Bacon Laws." But as Bacon distrusted the Governor, civil war soon broke out, and the "Virginia rebel," as he was called by those in authority, marched on Jamestown. Seizing a number of the wives of the Governor's friends, he placed them in front of his troops. This "White Apron Brigade" saved him from the fire of the Governor's guns. That night Jamestown was abandoned. In the morning Bacon entered it, and burned the place to the ground. It was never rebuilt. As you go up the James River to-day you see the ruined tower of the old brick church standing a melancholy memorial of the first English town settled in America.



RUINS AT JAMESTOWN

Bacon soon after died; but one of his chief supporters, named Drummond, fell into the Governor's hands. "Mr. Drummond," said the Governor, "I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia. Mr. Drummond, you shall be hanged in half an hour." He was executed forthwith. In all, Governor Berkeley put to death over twenty persons. When the King of England heard of it, he exclaimed, in an outburst of anger, "That old fool has

hung more men in that naked country than I did here for the murder of my father.”¹

The Virginia colonists never wholly forgot the meaning of the Bacon rebellion, and its protest against tyrannical government. Just a century after the people's Assembly passed the famous “Bacon Laws” (1676) their descendants met at Williamsburg, nearly in sight of the ruins of Jamestown, and there (1776) declared themselves independent of Great Britain.

56. Summary. Jamestown, the first town built by the first permanent English colony in the New World, was founded in 1607. There the first American legislative assembly met in 1619. Negro slaves were introduced the same year. The cultivation of tobacco built up commerce and largely increased the population, but did not favor the growth of towns. The colony was strongly Royalist, and received many Cavaliers from England. Later, the Navigation Laws injured its prosperity. There was a period of bad government, and Bacon attempted reform. His undertaking failed. But the people remembered the man and his work, and Virginia a hundred years later (1776) was the first colony to propose the establishment of American independence.

II. NEW NETHERLAND, OR NEW YORK (1614)

57. Henry Hudson's Expedition. In the seventeenth century (1609) the Dutch East India Company of Holland sent Henry Hudson, an English sea captain, across the Atlantic to explore. They hoped that he would find a passage by water through or round America to China and the Indies (§§ 14, 16, 25, 44, 47).

Hudson, with his Dutch crew, entered what is now New York Bay, and was the first Englishman who sailed up that noble river which to-day bears his name. He reached a point about 150 miles from the mouth of the river, at or near where Albany now stands. It was the month of September, and Hudson had good reason for saying, “It is as beautiful a land as one can tread upon.”

¹ King Charles II had tried and executed only six out of the fifty-nine judges who had sentenced his father (Charles I) to death (§ 53).

About a month before, Champlain (§ 48) had come almost as far south as that, on an exploring expedition from Quebec. He gave his own name to the lake, known ever since as Lake Champlain, and claimed the country for France.

58. The Indians give Hudson a Reception on Manhattan Island; the Strange Drink. The Indians thought that the English captain, in his bright red coat trimmed with gold lace, must have come down from the skies to visit them. The Captain handed the chief a glass of brandy. Soon every red man present had tried the new and strange drink. Hudson meant the gift in no unkindly spirit, but to the natives it was simply poison. For them alcohol had a fatal fascination. Since then liquor has probably destroyed more Indians than war and disease combined. The Indians were afraid of the white man's gun; it would have been far better for them if they had been still more afraid of the white man's drink.

59. The Dutch take Possession of New Netherland; Jealousy of England and France. The Dutch, finding from Hudson's report that valuable furs could be bought of the Indians at enormous profit, soon sent over ships and opened trade with the natives (1613). Then (1614) the Republic of the United Netherlands, or Holland, took possession of the country on the Hudson River, and gave it the name of New Netherland.

Both the English and the French now had good reason for turning jealous eyes on New Netherland, for that province was like a wedge. It separated the colony of Virginia from the unsettled region of New England, and the point of it at the north entered that territory which Champlain claimed as part of New France (§ 48). A number of years later (1623) the Dutch made that wedge more dangerous still by building Fort Orange on the upper Hudson where the city of Albany now stands.

60. The Dutch buy Manhattan Island, 1626. In 1626 the Dutch West India Company sent out a colony under Governor Peter Minuit to settle in New Netherland. He landed with his emigrants on the island of Manhattan, where a Dutch trading post already existed (1613). The Governor bought from the Indians the

entire island of 14,000 acres for twenty-four dollars' worth of scarlet cloth, brass buttons, and other trinkets, or at the rate of about one sixth of a cent an acre.¹ The city of New York, which now occupies that land (with additional territory), is valued at many thousand millions,² and the value steadily increases.

The new settlement consisted of a fort, a stone warehouse, and a cluster of log huts. This was the beginning of the greatest and

richest city of America. The Dutch called the place by its Indian name of Manhattan, but later gave it the name of New Amsterdam.

61. The Patroons.

In order to get emigrants to go out to New Netherland, the government in Holland made very gen-



GOVERNOR MINUIT BUYS MANHATTAN ISLAND

erous offers. They promised to give a large amount of land on the Hudson River to any member of the Dutch West India Company who would take or send out fifty settlers.

The proprietor of such an estate received the honorary title of "Patroon," or protector. If he located on one bank only of the river, he was to have sixteen miles of water front; if on both banks, he was to have eight miles on each. Inland he might extend his settlement as far as he could occupy the soil to advantage. In all cases he was to purchase the land of the Indians.

"AMSTERDAM, Nov. 5, 1626.

¹ "HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS: Yesterday, arrived here the ship 'The Arms of Amsterdam,' which sailed from New Netherland . . . on the 23d of Sept. They report that our people are in good heart and live in peace there. . . . They have purchased the island of Manhattan from the Indians for the value of 60 guilders [\$24.00]. . . .

"Herewith, High and Mighty Lords, be commended to the mercy of the Almighty.

"Your High Mightinesses' obedient,

"P. SCHAGEN."

² The assessed value of the real estate in 1909 was nearly \$7,000,000,000.

The Patroon who began a settlement agreed to do three things :

1. To pay the expenses of the emigrant's passage from Holland.
2. To stock a farm for him on his estate with horses, cattle, and all necessary agricultural implements, at a small rent, and free from taxes.
3. To provide a schoolmaster and a minister of the gospel.

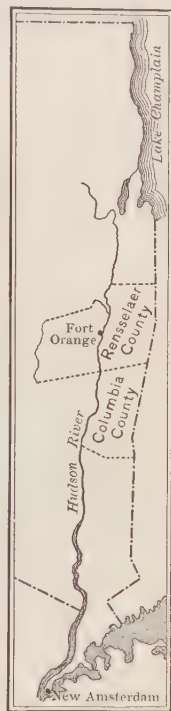
In return, the emigrant bound himself in many ways, of which the three following were the principal ones.

He agreed :

1. To cultivate the Patroon's land for ten years, and not to leave it without permission.
2. To give the Patroon the first opportunity to buy any grain or other produce he might have to sell.
3. To bring all disputes about property and rights to the Patroon's court, of which the Patroon himself was judge.¹

A patroon named Van Rensselaer² took an estate of 700,000 acres in the vicinity of Albany. It extended along both banks of the Hudson for twenty-four miles and reached back twice that distance. He made additions to this enormous property, so that eventually it embraced the three present counties of Albany, Rensselaer, and Columbia. The total area of his vast domain was greater than that of the state of Rhode Island.

Such a proprietor was richer than many a German prince. He was at once owner, ruler, and judge. He not only had a population of white settlers who were his servants



LAND HELD BY
KILIAEN VAN
RENSSELAER

¹ In cases involving more than \$20.00 value the settler might appeal from the Patroon's court to the Company. Other points were these: (1) the settler agreed to bring his grain to the Patroon's mill, and pay for the grinding; (2) he could not fish or hunt on the Patroon's estate; (3) he was not to weave any cloth, but buy that imported from Holland; (4) if he died without leaving a will, all of his property fell to the Patroon.

² Besides the Van Rensselaers, other noted families dating from that period are the Schuylers, Van Cortlandts, and Roosevelts.

and laborers, but he had the promise from the Dutch West India Company of as many negro slaves as they could "conveniently provide" him. There was no one to contradict the Patroon's will. He was actually "monarch of all he surveyed."

62. Peter Stuyvesant, the last Dutch Governor of New Netherland. Peter Stuyvesant came out to New Amsterdam (1647) as fourth and last governor of the province. Governor Stuyvesant was an old soldier who had lost a leg in the service of his country. He was hot-tempered and headstrong; but he was honest, fearless, and determined to keep order in the colony at any cost. If a man was disorderly, a constable took pains to show him the

shortest road to the public whipping post; if he was a robber or murderer, he was marched straight to the gallows.

The inhabitants complained of the taxes, and wished to have a word to say about how the money should be raised and spent. The Governor strenuously objected, but finally agreed that a council of "Nine Men" should be elected to assist him in that matter.

Later, when the people demanded the right of electing their own officers, he emphatically refused. If, said he, citizens once get the liberty to elect whom they please, "the thief will vote for a thief and the smuggler for a smuggler."

The Governor was equally decided in rejecting liberty of worship. He fined a minister \$500 for venturing to preach doctrines different from those of the Dutch Protestant Church; next he fined those who went to hear him \$100 each. This made free thought expensive.

When some Quakers came into the colony and began to proclaim their peculiar doctrines (§ 85), Stuyvesant punished them cruelly.



PETER STUYVESANT

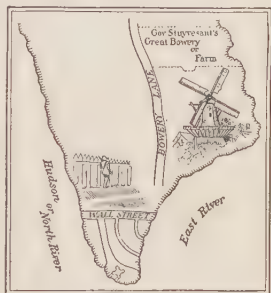
The authorities in Holland rebuked him, and ordered that every man should be permitted to worship God in his own house in his own way; but the Governor did as he liked.

Still, in many ways Peter Stuyvesant showed himself a good ruler. He made numerous improvements in the "city" of New Amsterdam, and in order to better defend the place, he built a high and strong fence across the north of the town. That fence, or palisade, marked the beginning of Wall Street, which is to-day the great money center of America.

The population of the town was made up of Dutch, French, and English. On this account the laws had to be published in three languages. Even then New Amsterdam was beginning to represent all nationalities. The Dutch predicted that the time would come when its "ships would ride on every sea." To-day the miles of wharves on the East and North rivers, lined with great ocean steamers and vessels hailing from all the ports of the globe, show how far their judgment was correct.

But the Dutch did not keep possession of New Netherland. The English king, Charles II, claimed the whole country on the ground that John Cabot had discovered the coast (§ 14) and planted the English flag on it in 1497. For this reason Charles now gave it to his brother James, Duke of York. England and Holland were at peace; but suddenly (1664) a British fleet sailed up to New Amsterdam and demanded its surrender.

Governor Stuyvesant was furious. He swore that he would never surrender "as long as he had a leg to stand on or an arm to fight with"; but, finding that the citizens refused to uphold him, he had to submit. The English promised full protection of life, liberty, and property to the inhabitants. Furthermore, they agreed to grant religious liberty, freedom of trade, and to allow the people to have a voice in making the laws.



NEW AMSTERDAM

The result was that the Dutch flag on the fort was hauled down, and the English hoisted their flag in its place. Then, in honor of James, Duke of York, the name New Netherland was dropped, and the country was called the province of New York. In like manner the quiet Dutch "city" of New Amsterdam became "his majesty's town of New York."¹

Ex-Governor Stuyvesant went back to Holland, but soon returned to spend the rest of his days on his "great bowery," or farm, which was on the east side of the island, just outside the city limits. The street now called The Bowery recalls the "Bowery Lane" which once led to the stern old soldier's home.

63. Summary. While endeavoring to find a way either round or through North America to China and the Indies, Henry Hudson (1609) sailed up the river named for him. The Dutch claimed the country and called it New Netherland; they



HOISTING THE ENGLISH FLAG OVER
NEW YORK

founded the city of New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island. Later (1664), England took possession of the country and named it New York, in honor of James, Duke of York, the King's brother.

III. NEW JERSEY (1617)

64. The Dutch claim the Country between the Hudson and the Delaware; New Jersey. The Dutch crossed over from Manhattan Island (§ 60), and built a fort at Bergen, on the west bank of the Hudson. Later, they built a second fort nearly opposite

¹ In 1673 New York was captured by the Dutch during war between Holland and England, but was given up to the English again when peace was made, less than a year later. From that time until the Revolution it remained subject to England.

where Philadelphia now stands. They claimed the country between these forts as part of New Netherland (§ 59).

But the English declared that the country belonged to them (§§ 14, 62). The Duke of York, when he came into possession of New Netherland, gave the whole territory between the Delaware River and the Hudson to his friends Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. Sir George had been governor of the island of Jersey in the English Channel. During the civil war in England (§ 53) he gallantly defended that island in behalf of Charles I, the Duke of York's father. For this reason the Duke named the country which he granted to him and to Lord Berkeley, New Jersey. An English settlement was made (1664) at a place which the emigrants called Elizabethtown, in honor of Lady Elizabeth Carteret, wife of Sir George.

The proprietors of the province granted the settlers very liberal terms, and the people had a direct part in the government.

65. The Friends, or Quakers, buy New Jersey; Treaty with the Indians; Prosperity

of the Country; New Jersey becomes a Royal Colony. Some English Friends, or Quakers, bought Lord Berkeley's share, or West Jersey (1674), and later, William Penn and other members of the Society of Friends bought the other half, or East Jersey, from the heirs of Sir George Carteret.

The Friends made a treaty with the Indians at Burlington which entirely satisfied the savages. After that if they found an



"HE IS AN ENGLISHMAN; HE IS ASLEEP;
LET HIM ALONE"

Englishman sleeping in the path, they would not molest him, but would say, "He is an Englishman; he is asleep; let him alone." In the same spirit of good will the Friends granted self-government to the colonists. The people levied their own taxes, made their own laws, and all settlers enjoyed religious liberty.

But eventually trouble arose about titles to land, and the proprietors thought it best (1702) to put the two colonies directly into the hands of the English government. They were united under the jurisdiction of the governor of New York; but later (1738), New Jersey became a separate province. From this time until the Revolution it was ruled by a governor of its own appointed by the King of England. The last of the royal governors was William Franklin, son of Benjamin Franklin.

66. Summary. The Dutch first claimed possession of what is now New Jersey. The English Duke of York seized the country and gave it to two of his friends, naming the province from the British island of Jersey.

A company of English Quakers then bought the land, granting to the settlers most of the privileges of self-government. The Quaker proprietors surrendered their rights to the English sovereign (1702), and New Jersey became a royal colony until the Revolution.

IV. MASSACHUSETTS (PLYMOUTH COLONY, 1620)

67. Former Lack of Religious Liberty in England; Catholics; Puritans; Separatists. When the English began to make permanent settlements in America in 1607 (§ 46), no country in Europe had that freedom of worship which every civilized nation enjoys to-day. In England the law required every one to attend the Protestant Episcopal Church established by the government, and compelled all persons to pay taxes to support that church.

Three classes of good and loyal citizens objected to that law:

1. The Catholics, who protested against being obliged to pay for maintaining preaching which they did not believe in.

2. The Puritans (§ 53), who thoroughly believed in the doctrines of the English Protestant Church, but decidedly objected to some of its ceremonies.

3. The Separatists, who, like the Puritans, accepted the religious teachings of the Church of England, but who had withdrawn from it because they did not like its form of worship, and had set up independent congregations of their own.

68. Emigration of those who sought Religious Liberty; the Separatists go to Holland. Not being able to obtain the freedom



HOMES OF THE PILGRIMS IN ENGLAND AND HOLLAND

they desired in England, many emigrants, representing the Catholics, the Puritans, and the Separatists, came to America. Here they hoped that they might be able to worship God without molestation, according to the dictates of their consciences.

The first who thus emigrated were the Separatists. A congregation of these people held religious services in the little English village of Scrooby. (See map.) They found that they

could have no peace, but were "hunted," "persecuted," and "clapped up in prison." For this reason they fled to Holland (1607), where, they had heard, there "was freedom of religion for all men."

69. The Separatists, or Pilgrims, resolve to go to America; their Reasons. At length a part of the Separatists, or Pilgrims,¹ as they now with good reasons called themselves, — for they had no fixed home, — resolved to emigrate to America.

Three chief reasons induced the Pilgrims to leave Holland :

1. Though they were with a friendly people, yet they were among those whose language and customs were not English.

2. As their children grew up, they would naturally marry into the Dutch families, so that in a few generations their descendants would become Dutch.

3. Finally, they desired to build up a community on soil belonging to England, where they and those who came after them might enjoy both political and religious liberty, according to the Pilgrim standard of what was just and right.

70. Where they proposed going; how they got Assistance to go. The only English settlement then in America was that at Jamestown, Virginia (§ 46). The Pilgrims could not go to that part of the country, for no worship but that of the Church of England was permitted there. They finally obtained from the London Company (§§ 43, 45) the right to settle at some place near the Hudson River.

A company of English merchants and speculators agreed to help them on these hard conditions :

1. The Pilgrims were to work for seven years without a single day to themselves except Sunday.

2. At the end of that time all the property they had accumulated was to be divided equally between them and the company of merchants.

¹ "So they left that goodly and pleasant city [Leyden, Holland (Map, p. 67)] which had been their resting place near twelve years; but they knew they were PILGRIMS [see Heber's xi. 13] and looked not much on those things; but lifted up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits." — BRADFORD'S *History of Plymouth*, 1607-1646. Bradford's MS. is preserved in the State Library in the Statehouse, Boston.

71. The Pilgrims sail; Myles Standish. The Pilgrims went over from Holland to England, and in the autumn of 1620 the *Mayflower* sailed from Plymouth, carrying the second English colony that was to make a permanent home in the New World (§ 46). There were only 102 of the emigrants, and of these less than ninety could be called Pilgrims. The others were persons who had joined them, or were servants or sailors.

Among those who were not members of the Pilgrim congregation, but who chose to go with them, was Captain Myles Standish. He was a man with the heart of a lion in battle, and the hand of a woman for the sick and wounded. Without his counsel and his sword it is doubtful if the colony could have succeeded.

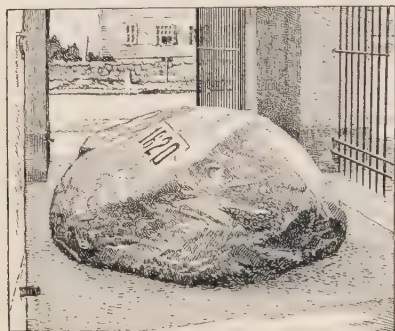
72. The Pilgrims reach Cape Cod; the Compact. On a morning late in November (1620) the storm-tossed Pilgrims sighted Cape Cod. They tried to go south of it, in order to reach the vicinity of the Hudson River (§ 70), but the weather was against them. Two days later (November 21), the *Mayflower* came to anchor in what is now Provincetown harbor, at the extreme end of the Cape.

The Pilgrims had no authority to settle in New England, but they decided to do so. Some of their hired men now declared that they were free and would do what they pleased. Hearing that threat, the Pilgrims gathered in the cabin of the *Mayflower* and drew up and signed a compact or agreement. In that compact they declared themselves "loyal subjects" of the King. At the same time they declared that they were resolved to make whatever laws might be needful for the "general good of the colony." They then elected John Carver for their first governor. Thus the new commonwealth began; they were but a few score people, but they had the strength that belongs to those who fear God and respect themselves.

73. They explore the Coast, and land; Plymouth Rock; the First Winter. While the *Mayflower* remained at anchor Captain Standish with a boat load of men went out to explore. On December 21 they reached the harbor which Captain John Smith had called Plymouth on a map which he made when in Virginia (§ 48).

On the shore of that harbor lies a part of a granite boulder. It is said to be the only one directly on the water's edge for several miles. According to tradition they landed on that boulder. It is only a few feet square, but Plymouth Rock fills a greater place in the history of our country than any other single stone on the American continent.

A few days later, the *Mayflower* sailed into that harbor; the men all went ashore and began the work of building a log hut



PLYMOUTH ROCK

for general use. Later, they erected another cabin, but it had to be used for a hospital instead of a settler's home. The hardships of that winter were so great that by spring nearly half of the colony were in their graves. But when the *Mayflower* went back, in April (1621), not one of the Pilgrims returned in her. They had come to stay.

74. Governor Bradford; Town Meeting; a Treaty made with the Indians. Soon after the *Mayflower* sailed, Governor Carver (§ 72) died and was succeeded by William Bradford (1621).

The Pilgrims decided all important questions in town meeting. There they made the laws. It was pure government by the people.

But the Pilgrims did more than simply make laws, for they enforced them. The man who resisted was speedily tied neck and heels together on the ground and left there for a reasonable time to meditate on the error of his ways.

Not long before his death Governor Carver had made a treaty with Massasoit, chief of a neighboring tribe of Indians in the southwest. The treaty was faithfully kept for more than fifty years.

Later, Canonicus, chief of a tribe of hostile Indians, threatened to attack Plymouth. He sent Governor Bradford a declaration of war in the shape of a bundle of arrows tied round with a rattlesnake

skin. The Governor took the snake skin, stuffed it full of powder and bullets, and sent it back. Canonicus looked at it, felt of it, and then said, "We had better let the Governor alone." When trouble with the Indians did arise later, Myles Standish (§ 71) soon made them confess that though "he was a little man, he was a great captain."

75. The Pilgrims buy out the English Company; what made the Pilgrims Great. After some years had passed, the Pilgrims bought out the English merchants' shares in Plymouth colony (1626). In order to do it, they had to borrow the money in London at from thirty to fifty per cent interest, but they were determined to be free of the Company at any cost. Henceforth every man had a right to whatever he could gain for himself by fishing, fur trading, or farming.

The colony increased slowly. At the end of ten years there were only 300 people in Plymouth. Massachusetts colony, founded ten years later (1630), overshadowed and finally absorbed it.

It was not what the Pilgrim Fathers actually accomplished which made them great: it was the spirit in which they worked. There is one thing in this world that is better than success — that is, to deserve success. They had gained that; as their brethren wrote them from England: "Let it not be grievous to you that you have been instrumental to break the ice for others. *The honor shall be yours to the world's end.*"



MONUMENT TO CAPTAIN MYLES
STANDISH ON "CAPTAIN'S
HILL," DUXBURY, PLYM-
OUTH BAY

IV. MASSACHUSETTS (MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY, 1630)

76. Settlement of Salem; Governor Endicott; Toleration. A number of years after the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, the Massachusetts Bay Company¹ in England sent out John Endicott to take charge of a small colony at Salem (1628).

Governor Endicott was a strict Puritan (§§ 53, 67). He lived in an age when the toleration of religious liberty was unknown in Great Britain. If he had found "toleration" in his dictionary, he would have cut the word out, just as he drew his sword and cut the red cross out of the English flag because it represented the ancient Catholic faith of England.

77. The Great Puritan Emigration; Winthrop's Colony; Settlement of Boston, 1630. But the great emigration to New England began in 1630. The royal charter gave the Massachusetts Bay Company the territory extending along the coast from the Charles River to the Merrimac. Westward it extended, like Virginia (§ 43), to the Pacific.

The Company appointed John Winthrop,² a wealthy Puritan, governor. He came, bringing the charter with him, and a colony of over 700 persons with horses and cattle.

The colonists named the place where they finally settled, Boston, because of their affectionate remembrance of the ancient city of Boston, England. (Map, p. 67.)

In the course of the next ten years more than 20,000 of Governor Winthrop's countrymen came to New England. Among them were highborn men and women, with graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, besides people of property and influence, — "the very flower of the English Puritans."

¹ The Plymouth Company of England which had never succeeded in planting a permanent colony (§§ 43, 45) was reorganized in 1620 under the name of the Council for New England. In 1627-1628 this Council issued a grant to the Massachusetts Bay Company which was confirmed by a royal charter.

² Governor Winthrop of Groton, Suffolk County, in the east of England. He came for the same reason that Endicott did, because the Puritans, as he said, had "no place to fly unto but the wilderness." He also felt that Great Britain needed an outlet for her unemployed thousands. "This land" [England], said he, "grows weary of her inhabitants, so as man, who is the most precious of all creatures, is here more vile and base than the earth we tread upon, and of less price among us than a horse or sheep." — WINTHROP'S *Life and Letters*.

78. How Massachusetts was governed; Town Meetings; who could vote; Occupations of the People. At first all the public affairs of the colony were managed by a council. Later (1634), the towns sent representatives to the Legislature to make the laws.

In all cases the towns managed their own local business, such as the making of roads and the care of schools, in town meeting as the Pilgrims at Plymouth did (§ 74).

Thomas Jefferson of Virginia lamented that his colony did not do the same. He said the New England town meetings had proved themselves the "wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government."

We have seen that in Virginia (§§ 51, 53) the right to vote on colonial matters was finally restricted to men of property; in Massachusetts it was confined to members of the Puritan church. The Virginians wished to keep the government of their colony in the hands of the royalist landholders or responsible citizens; the Puritan commonwealth of Massachusetts wished to keep theirs under the control of Puritans. This corner of the continent, said they, is ours. If others come to it who want a different religion and different kind of government, we give them full liberty—to move on.

Governor Winthrop, like Governor Berkeley of Virginia (§ 53), wanted a state governed not by the majority, but by a select few. "The best part of a community," said he, "is always the least, and of that part the wiser are still less."

In Massachusetts much of the soil was poor; the farms were small, and there were no great plantations like those of Virginia. A large number of the people were engaged in the cod fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, and many were employed in the construction of vessels. Boston had some of the best shipbuilders in the world. It had also a thriving commerce with the West Indies. The colonists sent out cargoes of staves and lumber, and imported quantities of sugar and molasses from which they distilled the famous "New England rum," an article which people then believed to be one of the necessities of life.

79. Banishment of Roger Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson.

The fact that the Puritans considered Massachusetts exclusively their own led to the banishment of Roger Williams. He had come from England as a minister, and was settled over the church in Salem. He was one of the very few men of that day who thoroughly believed in religious freedom, or, as he called it, "soul liberty." "No one," said he, "should be bound to maintain a worship against his own consent." To say that, was

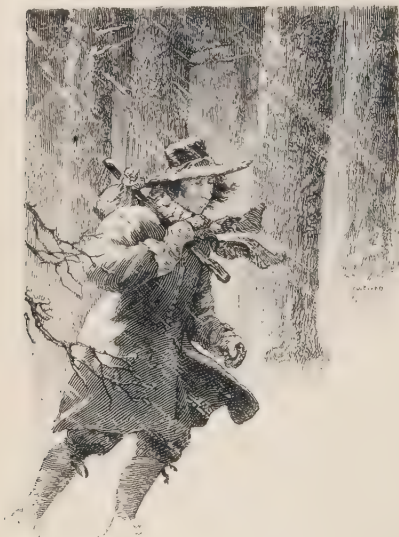
to strike directly at the law of Massachusetts, which required every man to attend public worship and to pay for its support.

Mr. Williams did another thing which made serious trouble. He vehemently denied that the King had the right to grant the land to the Puritan colonists without the consent of the Indians who owned it.

The colonists feared that what the young Salem minister said might provoke the English sovereign to take away their charter and compel them to leave Massachusetts.

For this reason the Governor resolved to arrest him as a dangerous person and send him back to England. Mr. Williams fled (1635) in bitter winter storms through the woods to the shores of Narragansett Bay. There he took refuge in Massasoit's friendly wigwam (§ 74). The next spring he founded the beautiful city of Providence.

The same year Mrs. Anne Hutchinson of Boston attacked many of the Massachusetts clergy about their religious belief, which seemed to her more a matter of form than of faith. She



THE FLIGHT OF ROGER WILLIAMS

lectured or preached every week, and her influence finally became so great that a company of soldiers that had been raised to fight the Indians refused to march because their chaplain did not agree with Mrs. Hutchinson!

The Legislature decided that Mrs. Hutchinson was as bad as Roger Williams, "or worse," and compelled her to leave the colony. Later, the Baptists were forbidden to preach in Massachusetts and were severely punished when they refused to obey the command. These were harsh measures, but the colonists believed that it was their duty to maintain their Puritan faith at any cost, and they did it.

80. Public Schools; Harvard University, 1636; First Printing Press (1639); Eliot's Work among the Indians. The people of the colony were anxious to have their children educated, and they established the Boston Free Latin School (1635). It is the oldest public school now existing in any state originally settled by the English. The Dutch, however, had established (1633) a church school in New Amsterdam, which still flourishes. In 1647 the colonists passed a law which practically provided instruction for every white child in Massachusetts. England had never done anything like that. That great work laid the foundation of the common-school system of the United States.

Meanwhile, the Legislature voted in 1636 to give £400 — or what was equal to an entire year's tax of the colony — to found a college at Cambridge, near Boston. It is said that "this was the first legislative assembly in which the people, through their representatives, ever gave their own money to found a place of education."

Two years later the Rev. John Harvard of Charlestown left his library of three hundred and twenty volumes, and half of his estate, — or about £750, — to the college. The Legislature out of gratitude ordered the new institution — the first English college in America — to be called by his name: such was the origin of Harvard University, 1636. Virginia established William and Mary College, the second in America (1693), and Connecticut established Yale University, which was the third (1701).

The interest felt in Harvard was so universal that at one time (1645) every family throughout New England gave either a peck of corn or twelvapence in money towards its support. The people were poor, but they were determined, as they said, "that learning should not be buried in the graves of their fathers."

While the people were doing so much for education, the Rev. John Eliot of Roxbury, near Boston, was laboring to convert the Indians. He translated the Bible into the Indian language and printed it, at Cambridge (1660), on the first press set up in the American colonies, 1639. When we come to King Philip's War (§ 86) we shall see how the colonies reaped the fruit of the labors of the "Apostle to the Indians."

81. The New England Confederation. In 1643 Massachusetts Bay united with Plymouth and with the two western colonies of Connecticut and New Haven in a Confederation or league for mutual defense (1643-1684). The chief objects of this league were:¹

1. To protect the colonists against hostile Indians and against the Dutch of New Netherland (§ 59), who were trying to get possession of the territory between the Hudson and the Connecticut rivers.

2. To express the sympathy of the colonists with the Puritan party in England, which was then engaged in a war against the tyrannical King Charles I² (§ 53).

After the Confederation had ceased to exist the remembrance of it helped the colonists to unite against the French of Canada, who threatened (1750) to drive them out of the land. Still later, when trouble with England came, the fact that there had once been such an organization as the so-called "United Colonies of New England" prepared the way for that great and permanent confederation of all the colonies, north and south, known first as the "United Colonies of America," and finally as the "United States of America."

¹ One object of the Confederation was to secure the return of runaway slaves to their masters.

² The words "you shall bear true faith and allegiance to our sovereign Lord King Charles" were now dropped from the oath required by Massachusetts of its governors and chief officeholders.

82. The Coming of the Friends, or Quakers. Many years after the Puritans had settled Massachusetts the people kept a day of fasting and prayer on account of news received from England respecting a strange people called Quakers. It was said that they were turning the world upside down with their preaching, and that if they were not stopped, they would destroy all churches and all modes of government. A fortnight after that fast day (1656) the inhabitants of Boston heard to their horror that two women, who were Quaker missionaries, had actually landed in their town.

The authorities at once thrust them into jail, and as soon as possible sent them out of the colony. But others came, and soon all Massachusetts was in a fever of excitement.

83. What the Quakers believed; what they refused to do. To-day there are no quieter, more orderly, or more self-respecting people than the Friends, or Quakers. Boston would welcome a colony of them now, and feel that the city was the



SEIZURE OF THE QUAKER WOMEN

gainer by their coming. Why did the arrival of a few of them then excite such alarm? The reason was that the Quakers of that time stood in decided opposition to the ideas of the great majority of sober and discreet citizens. When men asked, "Where shall we find what is right?" the Church of England answered, "You will find it in the teachings of the Church." The Puritans replied, "You will find it in the Bible." The Quakers said, "You will find it in your own heart." To most

persons of that age such an answer seemed like rejecting both Church and Bible.

Next, the Quakers differed from other people in many of their customs. They would not use titles of honor or respect to any one, and they would not take off their hats to a magistrate or to the Governor — no, not even to the King himself. Furthermore, the Quakers observed no ceremonies in their worship.

Finally, acting in accordance with what they believed to be the teachings of the gospel, they refused to do three things which every citizen then was bound by law to do.

1. They would not give testimony under oath in a court of justice, or swear to support the government.

2. They would not pay taxes to support any form of public worship.

3. They would not do military service or bear arms even in self-defense.¹

84. Excesses committed by some Quakers. But this was not all, for the harsh treatment the Quakers had received in England and in Boston had driven some of them well-nigh crazy. In several cases they forced their way into Puritan meetings on Sunday and cried out that the ministers were hypocrites and deceivers of the people.

These things occurred only in Massachusetts. The Quakers in New Jersey and Pennsylvania (§§ 65, 119) never interfered with any form of worship, and peace and good order prevailed. In fact, no colony in America prospered more than that founded by the Quaker, William Penn.

85. The Puritans punish and execute the Quakers; End of the Persecution. The Puritans were stern men and they took stern measures. They arrested the disturbers of their peace, whipped some through the towns, cut off the ears of others, and drove them out into the wilderness.

All this severity was useless; the Quakers felt that they had a mission to the Puritans, and they persisted in returning and

¹ The Friends, or Quakers, believe that they should obey conscience, and, dispensing with forms, follow literally what they understand to be the commands of Christ.

preaching it in the loudest manner. They were nonresistants, —they would not strike back when persecuted; but they would use their tongues, and their tongues were like two-edged swords. After repeated warnings, the Massachusetts authorities hanged four of these missionaries, one a woman, on Boston Common, and buried their bodies at the foot of the gallows.

Finally, the King ordered the Governor of the colony to cease punishing the Quakers, and the excitement gradually died out.

86. King Philip's War. In 1675 Philip, son of Massasoit (§ 74), and chief of an Indian tribe of Rhode Island, began a terrible war against the colonists. While Massasoit lived, the treaty he had made with the English had been faithfully kept; but "King Philip" believed that if the Indians did not kill off the white men, then the white men would kill off the Indians. For this reason the savages made a sudden attack on the towns of southern and western Massachusetts. They did not dare attack Boston, but they burned more than half the towns in the colony.



KING PHILIP'S WAR

After about two years of desperate fighting, Philip's wife, and his only son, a lad of nine, were both captured. "Now," said the terrible warrior, "my heart breaks. I am ready to die." Shortly after this Philip was killed at his home at Mount Hope, not far from Bristol, Rhode Island. His hands were cut off and carried to Boston, and his head was carried to Plymouth, where it stood exposed on a pole for twenty years. Many of the Indian prisoners were sold as slaves in the West Indies. Among them were King Philip's wife and boy. During the war Eliot's "praying Indians" (§ 80) saved the lives of many colonists. With the death of Philip the Indians realized that their power was broken in southern New England.

87. The Salem Witchcraft. Some years later (1692) the Salem witchcraft caused a reign of terror in that town. In Great Britain several thousand unfortunate persons had suffered death for this alleged crime, and the English statute punishing it was not repealed until 1736, or "more than forty years after the excitement in New England had subsided." The whole matter seems to have originated with a few mischief-loving children who accused certain persons of tormenting them. Those so charged were tried for witchcraft, that is, for being in league with evil spirits, and in all nineteen persons were hanged. Then the good sense of the Massachusetts people asserted itself, and the witchcraft delusion came to an end.

88. Massachusetts loses her Charter; Governor Andros. But before this strange outbreak at Salem occurred, Massachusetts lost her charter (§ 77) and was no longer self-governing. For many years King Charles II had watched the Puritan colony with no friendly eye. It was far too independent to suit his arbitrary ideas. The people of Boston were accused of breaking the Navigation Laws (§ 54) by both importing and exporting goods in Dutch ships; they had also coined money without royal authority, and had given a warm welcome to two of the judges who had sentenced Charles I (§ 53) to the scaffold and then fled to Massachusetts. Furthermore, they were notoriously opposed to the Church of England and were believed to be strongly republican in their tendencies.

For these reasons the King took away their charter (1684). Massachusetts then became a royal province, and from that time until the Revolution it was governed by the King and those whom the King sent to represent him.

The first royal governor imposed on the colony (1686) was Sir Edmund Andros, who had been governor of New York. Three years of his tyranny produced a revolt. The people took advantage of a revolution in England which forced King James II to flee the country; they seized Andros and imprisoned him. They then recovered their former power of managing their own affairs in their own way, but only for a short time.

William III of England sent over a new charter (1691), which converted Massachusetts, Plymouth, Maine, and Nova Scotia into one province. Henceforth all forms of religion but the Catholic were permitted, and the right to vote was no longer confined to church members (§ 78). But the people had no power to make any laws except such as the King approved, and the King continued to appoint the governor.

89. Summary. The Separatists, or Pilgrims, settled Plymouth in 1620, and the Puritans settled Boston in 1630. The object sought by both was freedom of worship for themselves. To all of their own faith they gave a hearty welcome, but they regarded others as intruders, and the Puritans did not hesitate to drive them out. The colonists



ARREST OF GOVERNOR ANDROS

of Massachusetts were the first settlers in America who assembled in town meeting and established government by the people, and public schools for all children. The Pilgrims, for more than half a century, did not restrict the right to take part in the government to church members, but the Puritans did. The object of both was to build up a strong, free, religious, and intelligent commonwealth; in this they were in great measure successful, but eventually (1684) their charter was taken from them and they lost the power of making their own laws, and had to accept governors appointed by the King.

V. NEW HAMPSHIRE (1623)

90. Grant of Territory to Gorges and Mason; Settlement of Dover and Portsmouth. Sir Ferdinando Gorges obtained, with Captain John Mason, a grant of the territory between the Merrimac

River and the Kennebec. This region was called Maine, or the Mainland.

The first settlement known to be permanent was made at Dover, on the Piscataqua River, by English colonists (1627). Four years later (1631) Portsmouth was settled. The chief objects of these colonies were to carry on the fur trade with the Indians and to establish fisheries. Most of the inhabitants of the two settlements belonged, in name at least, to the Church of England.

91. Division of the Territory; New Hampshire; Vermont; Maine; Exeter. After a few years the proprietors, Mason and Gorges, decided to divide the territory. Gorges took the part east of the Piscataqua, — a region now included in the state of Maine; Mason took that west of the same river. He gave it the name of New Hampshire in remembrance of the English county of Hampshire which had once been his home. The region west of the Connecticut River, later called Vermont, was claimed by both New Hampshire and New York.

Sir George Popham had attempted to found a colony on the coast of Maine in 1607, but the undertaking failed. A permanent settlement appears to have been made (1625) at Pemaquid Point, about midway between the Penobscot and the Kennebec. Portland was founded some years later (1632). Massachusetts held control of Maine from 1652 to 1820, when it was admitted to the Union. The Rev. John Wheelwright was banished from Massachusetts (1638) for his openly expressed sympathy with the religious teachings of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson (§ 79). With several of his congregation who had followed him into exile he settled the town of Exeter, New Hampshire.

92. Settlement of Londonderry; Union with Massachusetts. Many years later (1719) several hundred thrifty Scotch-Irish emigrants — or Scotch Protestants coming from the north of Ireland — settled Londonderry, New Hampshire. They introduced the manufacture of linen; and soon in every log cabin the hum of the housewife's little flax wheel made cheerful and profitable music for the family.

One of the descendants of an industrious Scotch settler of this class, but who came at an earlier period, was the eminent orator, patriot, and statesman, Daniel Webster.¹

New Hampshire dreaded Indian hostilities, and having but a small and scattered population, petitioned (1641) for union with Massachusetts. The petition was granted. Furthermore, the citizens of New Hampshire, in accordance with their request, were permitted to vote and hold office without first having to prove that they were church members, as people were obliged to do in Massachusetts (§ 78). Finally (1679), New Hampshire became a royal province and remained so until the Revolution.



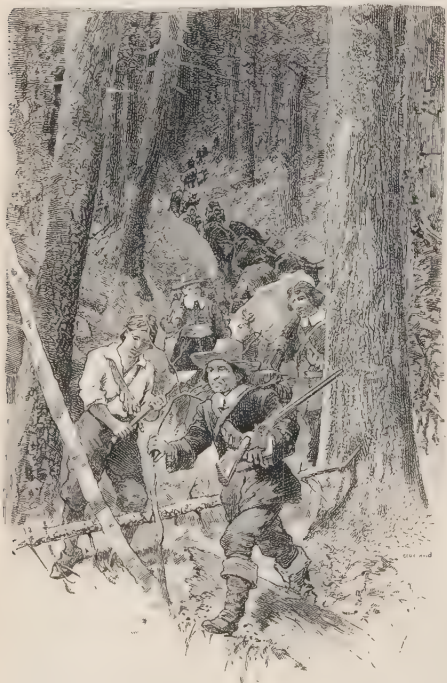
THE MUSIC OF THE FLAX WHEEL

93. Summary. New Hampshire originally formed part of the region called Maine, or the Mainland. English colonists settled Dover and Portsmouth. Emigrants from Massachusetts and Scotch-Irish later founded the towns of Exeter and Londonderry. The Scotch-Irish set up the manufacture of linen. Eventually New Hampshire was united with Massachusetts, and many years later it became a province governed by the King.

¹ Mr. Webster was born in 1782, in Salisbury, New Hampshire, about fifty miles north-west of Portsmouth. He once said, in a public speech: "It did not happen to me to be born in a log cabin; but my elder brothers and sisters were born in a log cabin, reared amid the snowdrifts of New Hampshire at a period so early that when the smoke first rose from its rude chimney and curled over the frozen hills, there was no similar evidence of a white man's habitation between it and the settlements on the rivers of Canada."

VI. CONNECTICUT (1634)

94. Emigration to the Valley of the Connecticut; Hooker's Colony. The rich lands of the beautiful valley of the Connecticut River early attracted the Dutch of New Amsterdam (§ 81) and the settlers of Plymouth. Both made an attempt to get a



HOOKEK'S EMIGRATION TO CONNECTICUT

foothold on the coveted territory. But emigration did not begin in earnest until later (1635). Then a number of settlements were made, which finally united under one government. We shall now take up the history of these separate colonies.

1. Emigrants from the vicinity of Boston (1635) founded the towns of Wethersfield and Windsor.

2. In the autumn of that year an English company sent out John Winthrop, son of Governor Winthrop of Boston (§ 77), with the title of "Governor of the River of Connecticut." He built a fort at Saybrook, at the

mouth of the river, and thus effectually shut out the Dutch from that quarter.

3. The next June (1636) the Rev. Thomas Hooker of Cambridge, Massachusetts, started with a company of one hundred men, women, and children for what was then called "the West." They traveled on foot, driving a hundred and sixty head of cattle, besides hogs, through the wilderness. There were neither roads

nor bridges, and the emigrants had to find their way by the compass, crossing rivers on rafts, sleeping under the stars, and living mainly on the milk of their cows.

After a journey of two weeks through a country which express trains now cross in three hours, they reached Hartford, where a small settlement of English had already been made.

95. The Pequot War. The next spring (1637) the new settlers declared war against the Pequot Indians, who threatened to destroy the white settlers. The three towns of Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor contributed ninety men led by Captain John Mason. The Pequots had a fortified village near the present town of Mystic. The little army of white men, accompanied by Indians of tribes hostile to the Pequots, and with some help from Massachusetts, attacked the enemy in their stronghold. They set fire to their wigwams and literally burned them out. The blow was a terrible one to the Pequots. From that time they were hunted down like wild beasts, until in a few months the tribe was practically destroyed.

96. The Connecticut Constitution, 1639. In 1639 the inhabitants of the three towns of Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor met at Hartford and drew up the first written American constitution,¹ or form of government made "by the people for the people." In the words of that document, its object was "to maintain the peace and union" of the settlers of the colony.

One remarkable fact about that compact is that it made no mention either of the King of England or of the English Company which held a royal grant of the Connecticut lands. It was in reality the constitution of a republic, and the men who framed it refused to bow to any authority outside or above themselves, except that of their Maker.

¹ Constitution: For the same reason that a game of ball cannot be played successfully without some rules to govern it, so, whenever a number of people join to form a community or a state, they must have some form of agreement or principle of union. Such an agreement is a constitution of government. Its object is to secure individual liberty on the one hand, and order on the other. The advantage of having such an agreement in writing is that it can be readily consulted; and misunderstandings and disputes about its meaning and application are less likely to occur than if it was not so preserved.

One reason why many of the Connecticut emigrants had left Massachusetts was that they did not believe in the principle of limiting the right of voting to church members (§ 78). The Hartford constitution imposed no such restriction; every citizen was politically equal with every other, and there was nothing to hinder his taking part in making the laws. To-day not only the United States but every state in the Union has a written constitution — a safeguard of liberty — similar in that respect to the one drafted at Hartford in 1639. That, then, may be called the parent of all that have followed.

97. The New Haven Colony; Scripture Laws. There were now two colonies in the territory: first, that at Saybrook (§ 94), and next that at Hartford and the other towns settled by bands of emigrants who had come into the Connecticut valley. Now a third colony, that of New Haven, was founded (1638). It was made up chiefly of people who had arrived at Boston from London the year before. One of its leading men was the Rev. John Davenport, a Puritan minister. The spring after they formed the settlement (1639) all the colonists met in a large barn to listen to a sermon from Mr. Davenport and draw up rules for the government of the new community. What those rules were we can guess from the old verse which tells us how

"They in Newman's barn laid down
Scripture foundations for the town."

Those "Scripture foundations," a few years later, made the severe Jewish laws of the Old Testament¹ those of New Haven. None could vote or hold any public office but members of the church. It was practically the same kind of government as that of Massachusetts (§ 78).

98. The Fugitive Regicides; Andros and the Connecticut Charter. These stern New Haven colonists believed heartily in justice, and

¹ In 1644 "the judicial laws of God, as they were delivered by Moses," were declared to be binding. Like the laws of Massachusetts, they inflicted the penalty of death for no less than fourteen offenses. They were, however, far more merciful than the laws of England, which at a very much later period made upwards of *two hundred* crimes punishable with death — sheep stealing being one.

hated royal oppression. Whalley and Goffe, two of the judges then known as "regicides," because, during the English civil war (1649), they had voted to put the tyrannical Charles I to death (§ 53), fled to New Haven (1661).

King Charles II sent orders to arrest them. Davenport concealed the judges, and preached to his congregation from a passage of the Bible (Isaiah xvi. 3-4) containing the words, "Hide the outcasts; betray not him that wandereth."

The sermon had the effect intended, and the disappointed officers went back without capturing the regicides.¹

Charles II, who was not unfriendly to the colony, had granted to the Connecticut people a charter confirming their right of self-government. By that charter the territory was extended westward to the Pacific, as in the case of Virginia (§ 43) and Massachusetts (§ 77), though no one then had any idea of the actual width of the continent. Saybrook had already been united with Connecticut, and New Haven was now joined to it.

When James II came to the throne he determined to take away the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island, as his brother, Charles II, had done in the case of Massachusetts (§ 88). His object was to bring them directly under his despotic control. Sir Edmund Andros (§ 88) was made governor of New England, and went with a body of troops to Hartford to demand the Connecticut charter (1687).

The Connecticut people looked upon that document as the title deed of their liberties, and resolved never to give it up, even if the King himself demanded it.

Andros met the Legislature, and discussed the matter until evening. At his order, the box holding the precious charter was brought in and placed on the table. Then, according to tradition, the candles were suddenly blown out, and when they were relighted the charter had disappeared. It is said to have been

¹ According to tradition, Goffe saved the town of Hadley, Massachusetts (where he was living concealed in 1675), in an Indian attack during King Philip's War (§ 86). The savages were on the point of gaining the day, when a venerable man with a long white beard suddenly appeared, rallied the inhabitants, and drove off the assailants. He then disappeared. Some thought they owed their victory to an angel.

hidden in a hollow oak not far off, which was ever after known as the Charter Oak.¹

Andros, however, declared that the colony should no longer be governed under the charter, and, to show that the end had come, he ordered the clerk to write "Finis" at the close of the record of the meeting. When the people of Boston (§ 88) compelled Andros to give up the power he had abused, the charter was



GOVERNOR ANDROS DEMANDS THE CHARTER OF CONNECTICUT

brought from its hiding place, and Connecticut maintained her government under it not only until the Revolution but for many years afterward (1818).

99. Summary. Connecticut was settled chiefly by emigrants from eastern Massachusetts and from England. It was the first colony in America to frame a written constitution of government — one which gave the right to vote to every citizen. The King granted the colonists a charter confirming their power of governing themselves. Governor Andros, by the order of James II, tried to get possession of the charter, but failed. Except for a very short period, Connecticut practically continued to maintain her own laws.

¹ See Palfrey's "History of New England," III, 542-545. The famous Charter Oak stood in what is now Charter Oak Place, Hartford. It was blown down in 1856. The spot is marked by a marble tablet.

VII. MARYLAND (1634)

100. The Catholic Pilgrims; Lord Baltimore; Maryland. We have seen how a band of Protestant Pilgrims (§ 69) settled Plymouth in 1620; fourteen years later (1634) a company of Catholic Pilgrims came to America for a like reason — that they might build up a state where they could worship God without molestation.¹

George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, a Catholic nobleman of excellent ability and high standing, resolved to provide a refuge in the New World for the persecuted people of his faith. From his friend King Charles I he obtained the promise of a grant of land in northern Virginia. Lord Baltimore died before the charter was completed, but his son, Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, received the grant. It made him practically all but king over a territory north of the Potomac, to which Charles I gave the name of Maryland, in honor of his wife, Mary, who was a Catholic.



THE FIRST ENGLISH
CATHOLIC CHURCH
IN AMERICA

101. The Settlement of St. Marys; the Wigwam Church. The first colony, led by Governor Leonard Calvert, — a younger brother of the second Lord Baltimore, — landed on the northern bank of the Potomac, near its mouth, and founded the town of St. Marys (1634). About twenty of the colonists were gentlemen of wealth and standing, — most of them probably Catholics; the rest of the emigrants were laborers, and seem to have been chiefly Protestants.

Father White, a priest who accompanied the expedition, got permission from an Indian chief to convert his wigwam into a chapel. That humble hut, made of strips of bark, was the first English Catholic church in America. Virginia would not have permitted

¹ The English law imposed the ruinous fine of twenty pounds a month — a sum equal to not less than \$700 to \$800 now — on every Catholic who refused to attend the services of the Church of England. This law was not always strictly enforced, but large sums were frequently extorted by the government from the Catholics by way of compromise.

that church to stand; New England would not. It was only in the wilderness of Maryland, in that mixed population of Catholics and Protestants, that it was safe.

102. Political and Religious Freedom of the Colony; the Toleration Act, 1649. From the beginning all the colonists took part in making the laws by which they were governed, and in a few years Lord Baltimore granted them the power of originating those laws. In religion absolute freedom of worship was given to all Christians,¹ but to Christians only. No other colony in this country then (1634) enjoyed such liberty, and it was unknown in England. In 1649 the famous Toleration Act² confirmed their liberty.

The result was that Maryland became a refuge not only for the oppressed Catholics of England, but also for many of the oppressed Protestants of the other colonies of America. Puritans driven out of Virginia by the Church of England (§ 44), Quakers exiled from Massachusetts by the Puritans (§ 85), both came to Maryland and found homes there.

103. The Clayborne and Ingle Rebellion; Lord Baltimore's Government overthrown; Persecution of the Catholics. The colony, however, was not to enjoy the peace for which it hoped. William Clayborne, a Virginian and a Puritan, had established a fur-trading post on Kent Island in Chesapeake Bay within the limits claimed by Lord Baltimore. He endeavored to hold the island by force, but was driven out. When the civil war (§ 53) broke out in England, the colonists of Maryland, like the people of Great Britain, took sides for or against the King.

Taking advantage of this division, Clayborne stirred up a rebellion (1645) and kept the whole country in a turmoil for two or three years. Captain Ingle, who asserted that he acted

¹ It is true that Lord Baltimore, holding his charter, as he did, from the Protestant sovereign of a Protestant nation, could not have safely denied liberty of worship to Protestants; but it is also true that he evidently had no desire in his heart to deny such liberty. The fact that he invited Puritans into the colony and protected them from persecution shows the man's true spirit.

² The Maryland Toleration Act of 1649 declared that no person professing belief in Jesus Christ shall be "in any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion, nor in the free exercise thereof." This law did not protect Jews or any others who denied the doctrine of the Trinity.

under the authority of the Puritan Parliament of England, but who was practically a pirate, got possession of St. Marys. He plundered it, and, seizing "the venerable Father White," sent him to England in irons on a groundless charge of treason against the Parliament of that country.

But worse was to come. After the King was dethroned and executed, and a republic set up in England, the authorities there sent commissioners to compel the people of Maryland to swear fidelity to the new government. At the same time Lord Baltimore insisted that as Maryland was his property the settlers should swear fidelity to him. The Puritans in the colony objected to taking this last oath, on the ground that Lord Baltimore was a Catholic.

The commissioners went to Maryland, forced Governor Stone, who had succeeded Governor Calvert, to resign, and put one of their own choice in his place. They then caused a General Assembly to be summoned at St. Marys, but ordered that no Catholic should be elected to it, or should cast a vote for any representative. The new Legislature repealed the Toleration Act of 1649, which granted religious freedom to all Christians (§ 102). In its place they enacted a law prohibiting Catholic worship throughout Maryland.

Furthermore, the Assembly declared that Lord Baltimore no longer had any rights whatever in the colony which he himself had founded, and to which he had invited many of the very people who now turned against him. That action must have reminded him of the story of the camel that begged shelter in his master's tent, and, when he had got it, kicked the owner out.

104. Lord Baltimore restored to his Rights; Loss of the Charter. But about four years later (1658) Parliament restored Lord Baltimore to his rights. Freedom of worship was again established, and for the next thirty years the colony prospered.

Meanwhile, England had again become a monarchy (§§ 53, 54), and William and Mary, who were pledged to support the Protestant cause, came to the throne (1689).

In Maryland there was an unavoidable delay on the part of the Governor in proclaiming the new sovereigns. The enemies

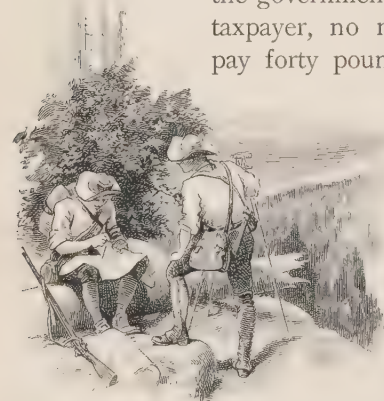
of Lord Baltimore circulated the report that this delay was part of a plot, and that the Catholics of Maryland—who were now not nearly so numerous as the Protestants—had conspired with the Indians to massacre all the people of the colony not of their faith.

The story was wickedly false, but many of the Protestants believed it. They rose in revolt, and in consequence the new King thought it wise to take the government of the colony into his own hands. "The best men and the best Protestants" of the colony stood up for Lord Baltimore, but without avail.

105. Establishment of the Church of England; Restoration of Maryland to Lord Baltimore; Mason and Dixon's Line. The

Church of England was now established as the government church in Maryland, and every taxpayer, no matter what his religion, had to pay forty pounds of tobacco yearly towards its support. The Catholic worship was not again allowed to be openly observed until Maryland became independent (1776).

On the death of the third Lord Baltimore (1715), his son, who had become a Protestant, was made proprietor and governor of Maryland. He and his descendants held it until the Revolution (1776). Meanwhile (1729), the city of Bal-



MASON AND DIXON LAYING OUT THE
BOUNDARY LINE

timore was founded, and named in honor of the originator of the colony.

William Penn had already founded the colony of Pennsylvania (1682), and from that time for many years there were bitter disputes about the boundary between that colony and Maryland. At length Mason and Dixon, two eminent English surveyors, were employed (1763-1767) to establish a boundary that would be satisfactory to both colonies.

They ran the main border line due west nearly two hundred and fifty miles ; later it was carried thirty miles farther. When practicable, they set up a stone at every fifth mile, with the coat-of-arms of William Penn cut on the north side, and that of Lord Baltimore on the south. That boundary — the Mason and Dixon's Line of history — became famous, for it was looked upon as marking the division between the free and the slave states formed from the original thirteen which entered the Union.

106. Summary. The colony of Maryland was planted by Lord Baltimore, an English Catholic. He, first in America, established freedom of worship for all Christians. The peace of the colony was interrupted by civil war, and enemies of Lord Baltimore, joining with Puritan settlers who had come in, overthrew the government and forbade the exercise of the Catholic religion.

Lord Baltimore succeeded after a time in regaining his power and again granted freedom of worship ; but, finally, the King took possession of the colony and compelled the people to maintain the Church of England until the Revolution, though the government of the colony was eventually restored to the Baltimore family, who had become Protestants.

VIII. RHODE ISLAND (1636)

107. Roger Williams seeks Refuge among the Indians ; settles Providence. When (1635) Roger Williams fled from Massachusetts (§ 79) into the wilderness, his situation was one of extreme peril. It was midwinter and the snow was deep. Williams was in feeble health and a wanderer in a trackless forest. Fortunately he had made the Indians his friends and could speak their language. The exile made his way to the hospitable wigwam of the chief Massasoit (§ 74), at the head of Narragansett Bay. There he found a home till spring.

Then with five friends, who had joined him from Massachusetts, he went to the Seekonk River¹ and built a cabin on its eastern bank. Finding that the place he had chosen was under

¹ Seekonk River, on the east side of the city of Providence.

the control of Plymouth colony, he and his companions crossed the river in a canoe. They were hailed by some Indians who were standing on a ledge of rock on the western bank.¹ "What cheer?" cried the friendly red men to the wanderers.

This welcome from the natives led Williams and his friends to land for a short time. Then they paddled down the river and again landed at the foot of some rising ground, where they found a spring of excellent water. There (1636) they determined to stay and build homes for themselves. Out of gratitude to



"WHAT CHEER ROCK"

"God's merciful Providence to him in his distress" Roger Williams gave to the place the appropriate name of PROVIDENCE. There he, with others, founded (1639) the first Baptist church in America. To-day Providence ranks as the second city of New England in population and wealth. So we see that in Roger Williams's case banishment instead of destroying his influence made it far greater.

108. Williams establishes a Colony; Liberty of Conscience; Growth of the Principle. More settlers came and the town of Providence took firm root. From the beginning entire freedom

¹ "What Cheer Rock," on the east side of Providence, foot of Power Street.

of conscience was given to every one. Maryland (§ 102) had granted such liberty to all Christians, but the colony of Providence granted it not only to Protestants and to Catholics, but to Jews. More than that even, it protected unbelievers, and declared that men of all religions and men of no religion should live unmolested so long as they behaved themselves.

Furthermore, Roger Williams denied that the government had the right to tax the people, against their will, to support any church. He first put in practice the American principle—that government has nothing whatever to do with maintaining any particular form of religious worship.

That idea was so new and strange that the other colonies thought it false and dangerous, and predicted that it would soon die out. Instead of that it steadily grew and spread, until in time it became a part of the Constitution of the United States, and there we read this sentence, which Roger Williams himself might have written, "*Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.*"¹

109. Settlement of Rhode Island; the Charter. Later, emigrants from Massachusetts planted colonies at Portsmouth, Newport, and Warwick. Williams went to England (1644) and got a charter which united these colonies and practically gave them full power to rule themselves by such form of government as they thought best. That charter was confirmed by a second, and though Andros (§ 98), when he was made governor of New England, tried hard to get possession of it, yet Rhode Island kept it as her form of government until long after the Revolution (1842).

Rhode Island always remained true to the principle of "soul liberty," first successfully put in practice by Roger Williams (§ 79); and though at one time Catholics and Jews were not allowed to vote,² yet they had full freedom of worship, and not

¹ See Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, Article I. Compare also Article VI of the Constitution: "*No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.*"

² On this point see Winsor's "America," III, 379, 380.

a single blot of religious persecution rests on the fair pages of the history of the colony.

During the Revolution every man in Rhode Island stood ready to fight for independence.

110. Summary. Roger Williams, an exiled minister from Massachusetts, with others, colonized Rhode Island and first established entire freedom of worship in this country. That principle now forms part of the Constitution of the United States.

IX. NEW SWEDEN, OR DELAWARE (1638)

111. The Swedes plant a Colony on the Delaware; it is captured by the Dutch. The names of the first European colonies in America



THE SWEDES MAKING A SETTLEMENT ON THE
DELAWARE RIVER

were generally expressive of ambition, youth, and hope. It was because the nations of the Old World had resolved to build up grander nations in the New. Thus the Spaniards had

founded a New Spain¹; the French a New France²; the Dutch, or Netherlanders, a New Netherland (§ 59); the English, a New England.

The Swedes, animated by a like feeling, endeavored to begin here a New Sweden (1638). That year their government sent over a colony which landed on the western bank of the Delaware River. At a point near where Wilmington now stands the emigrants built a fort which they named Christina in honor of young Queen Christina of Sweden.

¹ New Spain. This name was given by the Spaniards to Mexico, but Florida was also sometimes so called.

² Canada was also known by the name of New France.

The Dutch had already attempted to settle Delaware (1629). They claimed the territory; and Governor Stuyvesant (§ 62) came with a fleet from New Amsterdam (1654), captured the country, and sent home those of the colonists who would not swear fidelity to the Dutch government.

112. The English take the Country; the State of Delaware. The Dutch had been in possession of the land a little over ten years when the English Duke of York seized it (1665), as he had already seized that on the Hudson (§ 62). He sold it (1681) to the Quaker, William Penn (§§ 65, 119). Penn called the country "The Territories," or "The Three Lower Counties on the Delaware." Up to the Revolution it was considered a part of Pennsylvania and was under the control of the governor of that province, although after a time (1703) the people—among whom were many English Quakers and Welsh—obtained the privilege of having a Legislature of their own.

In 1776, when the war against Great Britain broke out, the inhabitants of "The Territories" declared themselves a free and independent state, and took the name of Delaware from the river which forms the northeastern boundary of the state.

Though the smallest of all the states, save Rhode Island, Delaware was foremost in accepting the national Constitution (1787), and was therefore the first to enter the American Union. On that roll of honor her name leads all the rest.

113. Summary. This colony, settled by the Swedes as New Sweden, was taken by the Dutch, and then by the English, who sold it to William Penn. He governed it as part of Pennsylvania. When it became independent it took the name of Delaware. After the Revolution it was the first state to adopt the Constitution of the United States.

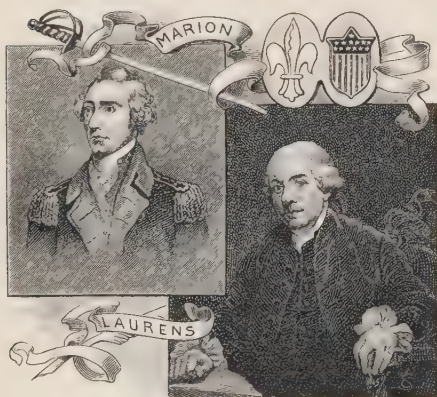
X-XI. NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA (1663)

114. Grant of Carolina; First Settlements. Charles II of England granted an immense tract of land (1663) south of Virginia to a company composed of Lord Clarendon and seven

associates. Out of compliment to the King the territory was called Carolina.¹ On the coast it embraced the entire region now included in the states of North and South Carolina, Georgia, and a part of Florida; like Virginia (§ 43), Massachusetts (§ 77), and Connecticut (§ 98), it extended westward to the Pacific.

115. Settlement of Charleston; the Huguenots. The first settlement direct from England was made (1670) on the banks of the Ashley River, in the southern part of Carolina.

Ten years later (1680) the colonists moved across to the peninsula between the Ashley and Cooper rivers, and there laid the foundations of the city of Charleston.



LAURENS AND MARION

From the outset the Company granted religious liberty to all colonists. One of the results of that wise policy was that many Huguenots, or French Protestants (§ 23), fled to Carolina to escape the terrible persecution to which they were subject in their native land. No better class of emigrants could have been desired.

They represented not only the best bone and sinew, but the best intellect and conscience of France. They brought with them that power and influence which spring not from rank or money but from character.

A hundred years later, two of the descendants of those South Carolina Huguenots — Henry Laurens,² the statesman,

¹ Carolina: the name was originally given to the country by Charles IX of France at the time of the attempted French settlements (§ 23), and was retained out of honor to the English king Charles II. The name was derived from *Carolus*, Latin for Charles. It was customary for kings to employ the Latin form for their names.

² Henry Laurens: he was the fourth president of the Continental Congress (1777) and was one of the commissioners sent to Paris to sign the treaty of peace with Great Britain at the close of the Revolution.

and General Marion,¹ the noble Revolutionary leader — won imperishable renown by their services in the cause of American liberty.

116. The "Grand Model"; Division of the Territory into North and South Carolina. Meantime (1670), the eminent English philosopher, John Locke, had drafted a constitution for Carolina, called the "Grand Model."

The "Grand Model" established a nobility who practically held all power. It also set up courts of justice intended to regulate everything from the gravest questions of law down to the cut of a man's coat, or the trimming of a woman's bonnet.

This remarkable constitution gave the common people no rights. They could not vote; they could not hold landed property; they could not even leave the soil they tilled, without permission from the nobleman who owned it. When a wealthy planter bought a tract of land in Carolina he expected to purchase the white laborers on it: they, like the trees and the stones, were considered a part of the estate.

But most of the inhabitants of the territory decidedly objected to the "Grand Model." They were resolved to own themselves, to own the labor of their hands, to own all the land they could honestly buy, and, lastly, to make their own laws. After twenty years of contest they succeeded. The colony was eventually divided (1712) into North and South Carolina, and from that time until the Declaration of Independence (1776) each was subject to a governor appointed by the King.

117. Growth of the Two Colonies; Introduction of Rice and Indigo Culture; Charleston. The growth of North Carolina was very slow, and the manufacture of pitch, tar, and turpentine did not tend to build up large towns.

In South Carolina, Charleston made little progress for the first twenty years. But about that time (1693) the Captain of a vessel coming from the Far East gave the Governor of the colony a bag of rice to plant as an experiment. He distributed the rice

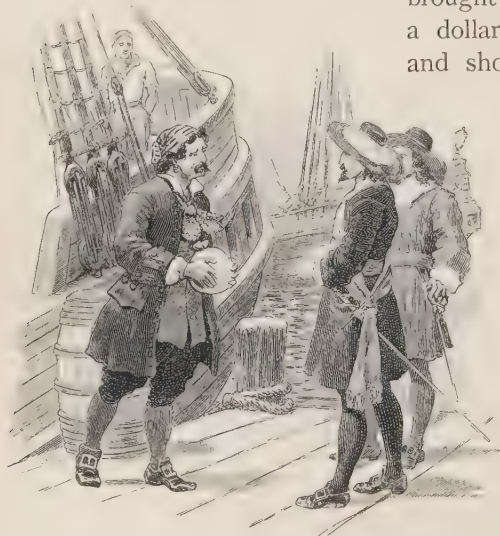
¹ General Marion: one of the heroes of the War of Independence (§ 184). His epitaph declares with entire truth that he "lived without fear, and died without reproach."

among the planters and they set their slaves to raising it. In time South Carolina became the largest rice-producing and rice-exporting state in the Union.

Next, a lady living near Charleston planted a little indigo (1741). The frost killed it. She planted more and the worms destroyed it. She began again and this time she succeeded. To the colonists the news of her crop, small as it was, was like the report of the discovery of a gold mine. Indigo then brought in Europe sometimes a dollar and a half a pound; and shortly before the Revolu-

tion Charleston exported over a million pounds in a single year. After the Revolution (1793) cotton (§ 205) was found to be even more profitable than indigo, and so the culture of that plant was given up.

The exportation of rice and indigo made the city grow rapidly. Josiah Quincy of Boston visited it (1773), and said of it, "In



THE GIFT OF RICE TO SOUTH CAROLINA

almost everything it far surpasses all I ever saw or ever expected to see in America."

118. Summary. Carolina, which was eventually divided into North and South Carolina, was settled by emigrants from Virginia, by English, and also by Huguenots, or French Protestants. General Marion of the Revolution was a descendant from a Huguenot family. The English Company owning the province undertook to govern it by a constitution called the "Grand Model," but the people refused to accept it and insisted on

governing themselves. North Carolina engaged in the manufacture of tar, pitch, and turpentine; South Carolina began the culture of rice and indigo, both of which proved highly profitable. At the time of the Revolution Charleston was one of the chief cities of America.

XII. PENNSYLVANIA (1681)

119. Grant of Pennsylvania to William Penn; the "Holy Experiment." Charles II owed William Penn, the most influential of the English Friends, or Quakers (§ 83), a large sum of money. As that good-natured but extravagant monarch always contracted as many debts as possible and paid as few, Penn suggested to his Majesty that he might easily settle his claim by granting him a tract of land in America. The proposition pleased the King, and he gave Penn a territory of about forty-eight thousand square miles fronting on the Delaware River. Charles named this vast region (which was nearly as large as the whole of England) Pennsylvania, or Penn's Woods. Penn was well known in Europe for his fair dealing. Everybody had confidence in him. For this reason not only English Quakers but many Germans got ready to emigrate to Pennsylvania.



PENN AT NEWCASTLE

In those woods Penn resolved to begin what he called his "Holy Experiment." He set out to establish a "free colony" on the basis of that Golden Rule which commands us to do unto others as we wish them to do unto us. The Quaker founder thought that even the North American savages could understand that principle and would let the people who practiced it grow up in peace. The King suggested that the savages would be more likely to respect a well-armed regiment of soldiers; but Penn had



PART OF THE BORDER AND TEXT OF KING CHARLES

no faith in the virtues of gunpowder and would not send so much as a single musket to protect his colony.

**120. Emigration to Pennsylvania; Land-
 ing at Newcastle; Philadelphia.** Penn sent out some emigrants (1681), and followed the next year with one hundred English Quakers (§ 83). He landed at Newcastle in what is now Delaware. He had purchased that territory from the Duke of York (§ 112), to add to Pennsylvania.

The whole population of the region gathered to welcome him and to witness the interesting ceremony of his taking possession of his vast estate. First, a piece of turf was handed to Penn — that meant that he owned the land and all that grew on it; next, a dish filled from the Delaware River was given to him — that signified that he owned

the water; finally, the key of the fort was solemnly presented to him — that act completed the transfer, for it acknowledged his



Defender of the faith: Do all to whom these presents shall come
ed Subject William Penn Esquire Son and Heir of Sir Adilliam
Enlarge Our English Empire and promote such useful commodities
long as they to reduce the Savage Nations by gentle and just
Christian Religion hath humbly besought leave of us to transport
hereinafter described in the parties of America not yet cultivated

II'S CHARTER TO PENN, WITH PORTRAIT OF THE KING

right to hold both land and water by military force,—the last thing he, as a zealous Quaker, would wish to do.

Penn then proceeded up the Delaware River and founded a city (1682) to which he gave the Bible name of Philadelphia, or Brotherly Love (Revelation iii. 7-8).

He had planned it all before he left England. It is said that not even a thousand dollars has had to be spent since in straightening or widening streets, for that work was done, once for all, in Penn's orderly brain before the first house was built (1683).

121. The "Great Law." Furthermore, Penn called an assembly at Chester, and he with the people enacted the "Great Law" (1682).

That constitution had a twofold foundation,—liberty of the people to make their own laws, and obedience to the laws they had made; for, said Penn, "Liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery."



By the "Great Law" it was provided :

1. That all colonists should be protected in their worship of God, but that no one should be compelled to support or attend any form of worship against his will.¹

2. That all resident taxpayers should have the right to vote, and that every member of any Christian church might hold office and become a member of the legislative assembly.²

3. That every child, after reaching the age of twelve, should be brought up to some trade or useful occupation.

4. That the death penalty should be inflicted for two crimes only, instead of for two hundred, as in England ; those two were murder and treason.

5. Furthermore, it was ordered — perhaps for the first time in the history of the world — that every prison should be made a workshop and a place of reformation.³

122. The Great Treaty; Growth and Importance of Philadelphia. Penn's next act (1682)⁴ was a treaty with the Indians. According to tradition he met the Red Men under the branches of a wide-spreading elm in what was then the vicinity of Philadelphia.⁵ There solemn promises of mutual friendship were made. In accordance, however, with the principles of the Quaker faith, no oaths were taken (§ 83). Each trusted to the other's simple word.

That treaty was "never broken,"⁶ and for sixty years, or as long as the Quakers held control, the people of Pennsylvania

¹ No person believing in God and living peaceably and justly "shall in any wise be molested."—The "*Great Law*," Section 1, Hazard's "Annals of Pennsylvania."

² This is according to Section 65 of The "*Great Law*"; but Section 2 of the same would appear to limit the right to elect members to the assembly to "such as profess and declare they believe in Jesus Christ."

³ The prisons of Europe at that time were dens of idleness and disorder, and the criminal usually came out actually worse than he went in.

⁴ See Hazard's "Annals of Pennsylvania," p. 635; but some authorities fix the date at 1683 and consider the treaty to have covered the purchase of lands.

⁵ The treaty was made at Kensington, in the northeastern part of the city. The Treaty Elm was blown down in 1810. So great was the regard for the old tree that during the Revolution, when the British forces occupied Philadelphia, General Simcoe, their commander, stationed a sentinel under it to prevent his soldiers from cutting it down for firewood. The monument marking the spot where it stood is on the west side of Beach Street, north of Columbia Street, Kensington.

⁶ Voltaire, the French historian, said that it was "the only treaty which was never sworn to and never broken"; if he had heard of Carver's treaty (§ 74), he would have mentioned that too.

lived at peace with the natives. The site of the tree under which that memorable transaction took place is now marked by a monument. The Indian record of the treaty — a belt of wampum representing Penn¹ and the chief clasping hands — is still preserved.²

Philadelphia grew rapidly, and at the beginning of the Revolution it was the largest and the most important city in the American colonies.

There the first Continental Congress met (1774), there independence was declared (1776), there too the present Constitution of the United States was framed (1787), and there the seat of government remained (1790–1800) until it was removed to Washington, then "a backwoods settlement in the wilderness."

123. Summary. William Penn founded the colony of Pennsylvania, or "Penn's Woods." He gave the people the right to take part in making the laws, and all persons believing in God were protected in their religion. He made a treaty of peace with the Indians which was sacredly kept. At the opening of the Revolution Philadelphia was the chief city of the country and long the seat of government.



THE PENN TREATY MONUMENT

¹ William Penn set sail for England, August 12, 1684, having spent not quite two years in Pennsylvania. He visited the colony again in 1699, and returned to England in 1701, where he spent the remaining seventeen years of his life. His outlay in Pennsylvania had involved him heavily in debt, and in 1709 he was obliged to mortgage his province for £6600. Other misfortunes fell upon him, and at one time he was a prisoner for debt in London. He was negotiating a sale of his right in Pennsylvania to the English government at the time of his death. His successors were unlike him, and their greedy and unjust policy created constant irritation. In 1779 the state of Pennsylvania purchased their rights for \$650,000.

² For cut showing this belt see § 35. Penn is the right-hand figure. The belt is in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia. See their "Memoirs," Vol. VI.

XIII. GEORGIA (1733)

124. Oglethorpe's Project for the Settlement of Georgia; his Three Objects. Many years after Penn founded his colony the English general James Oglethorpe, with others, obtained from George II a charter for colonizing the unoccupied part of South Carolina.

In honor of the King the new colony was named Georgia. It extended along the coast from the Savannah River to the Altamaha River. Westward, as in the case of Virginia (§ 43), Massachusetts (§ 77), the Carolinas (§ 114), and Connecticut (§ 98), the tract extended to the Pacific. (Map, p. 51.)

In this undertaking Oglethorpe and his associates had three great objects in view.

1. They wished to help the poor debtors in prison in England to go to America. Many of these men had been thrown into jail in London because they could not pay some trifling debt which they had contracted through sickness or misfortune. They were often honest, hard-working people, and Oglethorpe believed that in Georgia they would have an opportunity to make a new start in life.

2. Oglethorpe also wished to open a refuge in America for Protestants who were being driven out of southern Germany on account of their religion.

3. He wanted to establish Georgia as a frontier colony which would protect Charleston, South Carolina (§ 115), from attacks by the Spaniards of Florida (§ 23).

125. The Settlement at Savannah; Silk Culture. Oglethorpe went out with the first emigrants and built the town of Savannah on the Savannah River (1733).

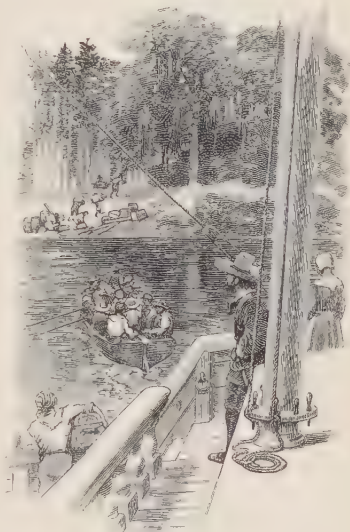
Mulberry trees grew wild in Georgia, and as their leaves are the best food for silkworms, the colonists hoped to produce silk in large quantities. The silk culture, however, never went very far, and in the end cotton was found to be much more profitable.

126. Restrictions on the Colony. Oglethorpe and his associates were determined to make Georgia a model colony where every

man should work with his hands and where none should indulge in strong drink. In every one of the other twelve colonies in America the people held slaves and made use of West India rum, which was then a common beverage everywhere.

But the people of Georgia were forbidden to buy either negroes or rum. This regulation produced great discontent, since without slaves the colonists could not raise rice, like the South Carolinians (§ 117), and unless they could import rum from the West Indies, as the other colonists did, they could not open a trade with those islands.

Furthermore, Oglethorpe and his associates established a government which provided that for twenty-one years the colonists should have no voice in making the laws. This regulation kept the great body of the people like children and made that best of all education—the education which comes from self-government—impossible. Liberty of worship was granted, but not to Catholics. Finally, a fourth regulation confined the ownership of land to those who could do military service in its defense. This cut off women from inheriting real estate, and all colonists who did not have sons protested against it.



THE LANDING AT SAVANNAH

127. The Wesleys; Whitefield; Restrictions removed; the Spaniards; Natural Resources of Georgia. John and Charles Wesley, the founders of the Methodist church in England, went out to Georgia as missionaries to the Indians. Later, another noted preacher of one branch of that denomination, the Rev. George Whitefield, established an orphan asylum near Savannah, which he partly supported by slave labor. John Wesley hated slavery

and believed that it was a sin against God and man; but Whitefield believed that the negro was not then fit to be free, and that slavery was just the sort of schoolmaster he needed.

Whitefield, with others, succeeded in getting the proprietors of the colony to permit the planters to purchase slaves to work in their rice swamps (1750); next, the prohibition on the importation of rum from the West Indies was removed, and the land laws were changed for the better. The result was that Georgia built up a flourishing commerce and became able to hold her own with the Carolinàs.

The colony was successful in checking the attacks of the Spaniards. Oglethorpe defeated an expedition which they sent to conquer and drive out the settlers, and he did the work so thoroughly that the enemy had no desire to make his further acquaintance.¹

Soon afterward Georgia became a royal province (1752) and was governed by the crown until the Revolution. No colony planted by the English possesses greater natural resources or natural wealth—in cotton, coal, and iron—than the territory that was first settled by the philanthropist Oglethorpe, who sought the prosperity of all. If he could see what Georgia has become, and, better still, see its probable future, he would feel that he could not have chosen more wisely.

128. Summary. Georgia, the last of the thirteen colonies, and one of the richest in its natural advantages, was settled by English emigrants brought over by General Oglethorpe, as a work of charity. One chief object of the colony was the raising of silk. That, however, was unsuccessful. In the outset the settlers had no power of self-government, and the land laws caused much discontent. Slavery and the importation of rum from the West Indies were forbidden, but later both were allowed, the people got the management of the colony, in considerable measure, and Georgia opened a profitable trade with the West Indies.

¹ The defeat of the Spaniards had the effect of extending the southern boundary of Georgia to the St. Johns River, Florida. In 1763 it was fixed at the present line.

THE FRENCH EXPLORATION OF THE WEST

129. French Exploration of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley; the Catholic Missionaries. While the English colonists had been getting firm possession of the coast from Maine to Georgia, the French in Canada (§ 48) had not been sitting still. In fact, it was they, and not the English, who were the explorers of the West. Among the first Europeans who dared to push their way into that vast wilderness were Catholic missionaries, who had come here to convert the Indians. In their zeal for this work they braved all dangers — enduring hunger, cold, and torture without a murmur. Long before William Penn's emigrants had felled the first tree for the first log cabin in Philadelphia, these missionaries had reached the western shore of Lake Michigan (1669) and had planted missions among the Indians at Mackinaw, Sault Ste. Marie, and Green Bay. (Map, p. 111.)

130. Joliet and Marquette on the Mississippi. A few years later (1673) Joliet, a famous French explorer and fur trader, and Father Marquette, a Catholic priest, set out from Mackinaw to find a great river which the Indians told them lay west of Lake Michigan. Making their way in birch-bark canoes (§ 34) to the head of Green Bay, they paddled up the Fox River to a place which they called Portage¹; then carrying their canoes across a short distance, they embarked on the Wisconsin River. (Map, p. 111.) Borne by the current, they dropped down the Wisconsin until, on a beautiful day in June, they floated out on the broad, shining bosom of the upper Mississippi. The sight of it was enough: they knew that they had found that mighty stream which the Indians called the "Father of Waters."

Turning their canoes southward, they let the river bear them where it would. Day after day they kept on their silent journey. They glided by castle-shaped cliffs, open prairies, and hundreds of miles of unbroken forest. Thus they drifted on, past the

¹ Portage: a French word, meaning a carrying place, because at such points canoes or goods were carried across from one stream to another. (See Map, p. 111.)

muddy torrent of the Missouri, past the mouth of the beautiful Ohio. In about three weeks the explorers came to the spot where De Soto (§ 21) had crossed the river more than a hundred years before; then, pushing on, they reached the mouth of the Arkansas. There some Indians told them that the tribes below were hostile to strangers and that they had better return. Joliet and Marquette took their advice, got into their canoes, and patiently paddled their way back. Under the burning sun they battled for hundreds of miles against the powerful current; it was indeed a tremendous piece of uphill work.

At last they reached the mouth of the Illinois; they worked their way up that river to an Indian village just below Ottawa,



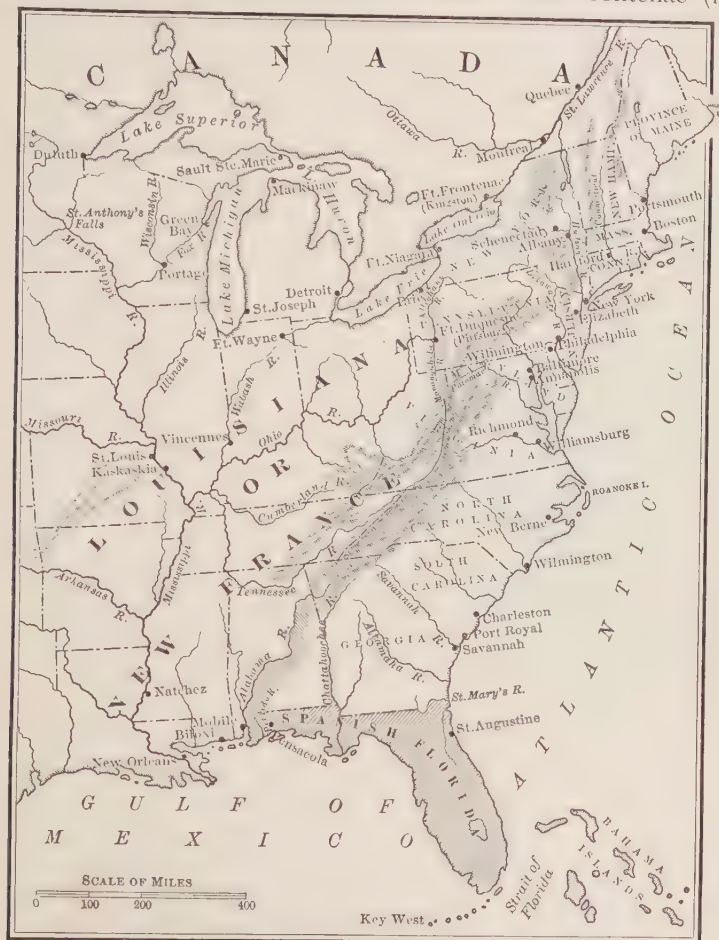
JOLIET AND MARQUETTE ENTERING THE MISSISSIPPI

and then made their way across to Lake Michigan. They had not followed the Mississippi to the Gulf, as they intended, but who will say that they had not made a good beginning?

131. La Salle reaches the Mouth of the Mississippi. Six years later (1679) La Salle, the greatest of the French explorers, a man of active brain and iron will, set out from Canada to complete the work of Joliet and Marquette. On the Niagara River, not far above the falls, he built the first sailing vessel ever launched on the upper Great Lakes. In her he sailed to Green Bay; then, sending the vessel back for supplies, he and his companions went in canoes to the St. Joseph River,¹ near the southeastern corner of Lake Michigan. (Map, p. 111.) There they built a fort; then, crossing over to the head waters of the Kankakee, a tributary of the Illinois, they descended that river to the point where Peoria now stands. There they built a second fort.

¹ La Salle paddled from Green Bay round to the St. Joseph River, Michigan.

Leaving a small garrison to hold this position, La Salle, near the end of winter, went back on foot to Fort Frontenac (now



MAP SHOWING THE THIRTEEN ENGLISH COLONIES AND THE FRENCH EXPLORATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS IN THE WEST

Kingston), on Lake Ontario, in eastern Canada. (Map, above.) He made that journey of a thousand miles to get the supplies which he needed for the exploration of the Mississippi.

*E mile
B mile*

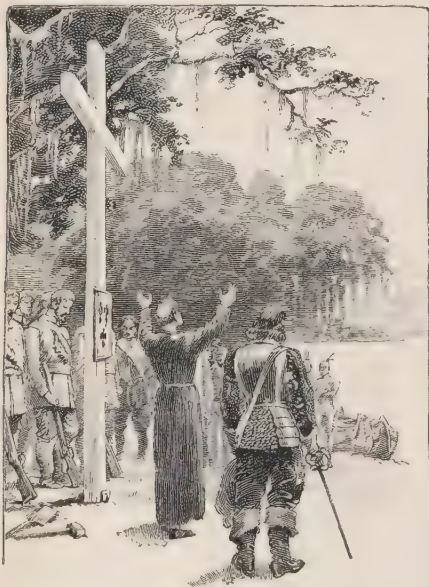
While he was gone, Father Hennepin, a Catholic missionary in La Salle's expedition, set out from the fort to explore the country. After many startling adventures he finally reached a cataract on the upper Mississippi, which he named the Falls of St. Anthony.

When La Salle returned to Illinois (1681), he found his fort deserted and in ruins. But the brave Frenchman knew no

such word as fail. In the autumn he set out on his great expedition for the third time. Landing at the head of Lake Michigan, where Chicago now stands, he crossed over to the Illinois and, going down that river, entered the Mississippi in February (1682). The weather was "bitter cold," and the river full of floating ice; but La Salle started with his company on his perilous voyage. Nine weeks later he reached the sunny waters of the Gulf of Mexico.

There he set up a rude wooden cross, on which he fastened a metal plate bearing the arms of France.¹

Then with volleys of musketry and loud shouts of "God save the King!" La Salle took possession of the vast territory watered by the Mississippi and the streams which flow into it. To that region of unknown extent—twice as large as France, Spain, and Germany united—he gave the name of Louisiana, in honor of



LA SALLE TAKING POSSESSION OF
LOUISIANA

¹ Arms of France: a shield decorated with representations of the heads of lilies (here resembling small crosses). The latest French life of La Salle says he fastened the arms of France to a post and erected a cross beside it.

Louis XIV, then the reigning sovereign of France. So the "Grand Monarch," as he called himself, boasted that he held the heart of the American continent.

► **132. The Founding of Mobile and New Orleans.** Many years later John Law, an enterprising Scotchman, got permission from France to establish a colony in Louisiana. Law expected to find rich mines of gold and silver, and every needy and greedy Frenchman who could manage to scrape a few dollars together wanted to buy stock in the company. The speculation failed and made thousands beggars.

Still the undertaking had some permanent results for good. A Frenchman named Iberville had established a colony at Mobile, on the Gulf of Mexico (1701). His brother, Bienville, was appointed governor of Louisiana. It was hoped that he would send shiploads of treasure back to France. He sent nothing of the sort, but did far better, for he founded the city of New Orleans (1718). The settlement consisted of a few log huts built around a fort; it was destined to become the commercial metropolis of the great Mississippi Valley, — a valley capable of producing food enough to feed all the civilized races of the globe.

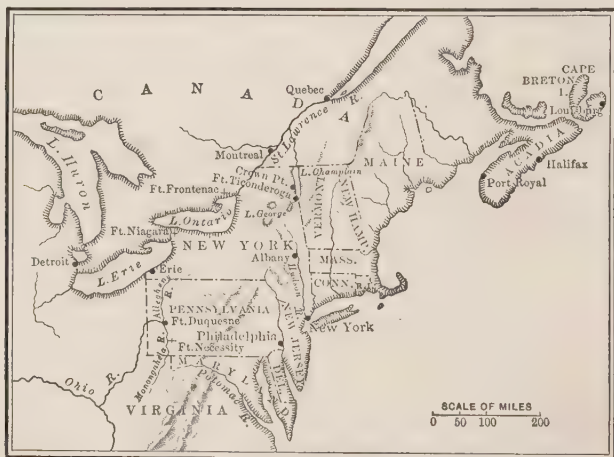
133. The English hold the Atlantic coast, but the French hold the interior of the country. Meanwhile, what had the English colonists in the East done toward exploring and occupying the country? Practically nothing. They simply continued to hold their first settlement on the Atlantic coast; in other words, the eastern edge of what is now the United States. The long range of the Allegheny Mountains, rising like an immense wall, seemed to hem them in.

But the French, starting from Canada, had obtained a firm grip upon the interior of the country. They held the Mississippi, and with it they claimed to hold the great central West, extending from the Alleghenies to the base of the Rocky Mountains.

What they held they meant to keep; La Salle showed that when he built forts at the most important points of his explorations, all the way down from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. (Map, p. 111.)

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS (1689-1763)

134. War with the French; Attacks on Schenectady, Haverhill, and Deerfield; the French lose Acadia. In Europe the French and the English had long been enemies. The desire of each to get possession of America did not make them any better friends. In 1689 war broke out between the rival colonists. With intervals of peace that contest¹ extended over seventy years (1689-1763).



MAP ILLUSTRATING THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS
(1689-1763)

In Europe the same war was fought between England and France, and it lasted even longer.

In the first or "King William's War" (1689-1697) the French Governor of Canada sent an expedition of French and Indians to attack the colonies on and near the Hudson. They secretly came upon the little village of Schenectady, New York, at midnight. They burned it and massacred most of the inhabitants. But some Indians who made an attack on Haverhill, Massachusetts, met

¹ This war and those that follow were simply the *American* side of a hundred years' struggle waged in Europe and Asia, between the English and the French, for the possession of India and of the continent of America. See Seeley's "Expansion of England," Lecture II.

their match. A small party of savages carried off Mrs. Hannah Dustin captive, intending to sell her as a slave in Canada. She got possession of some tomahawks, and with the help of another woman and a boy, also prisoners, she split the heads of the sleeping Indians, and carried home their scalps, ten in all, in triumph. A regiment of such women would have soon made both French and Indians beg for peace. During this war an expedition from Boston, led by Sir William Phips of Maine, captured the French fort at Port Royal, Acadia, now Nova Scotia, but it was returned to the French the next year (1691).

In the second or "Queen Anne's War" (1702-1713) a party of French and Indians burned Deerfield, Massachusetts. On the other hand, the New Englanders recaptured Port Royal and named it Annapolis in honor of Queen Anne of England. They also undertook an expedition against Quebec, which ended in shipwreck and terrible loss of life. When peace was made (1713) the English not only kept Annapolis but got possession of Acadia, which they now named Nova Scotia.

135. The Third War; Taking of Louisburg. There was a long interval of peace, and then the third or "King George's War" broke out (1744-1748). During this contest the New England colonists gained a remarkable victory. France had spent millions in fortifying Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island, so that it might guard the entrance to the Gulf and the River St. Lawrence.¹ The fort was of immense extent and had walls of solid masonry thirty feet high. Colonel Pepperrell of Maine, with a force of a few thousand Yankee farmers and fishermen, set out to capture this great stronghold. The expedition seemed so foolhardy that even Benjamin Franklin² ridiculed it. Though himself a native

¹ France needed the fortified harbor of Louisburg as a shelter for her vessels, as a protection to her commerce and fisheries, and for maintaining free communication with Canada.

² Benjamin Franklin, born in Boston, 1706; died in Philadelphia, full of years and honors, in 1790. He was the son of a soap boiler and candle maker. He learned the printer's trade and went to Philadelphia, where, in 1729, he became editor and proprietor of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. Later, he entered public life, went abroad as agent of the colonies, and rendered the whole country his debtor by his eminent services in the cause of American independence. The succeeding pages of this history will show that his name deservedly ranks with that of Washington as one of the founders of the United States. For a full account of him see "Benjamin Franklin's Life by Himself" [Ginn and Company].

of New England, and full of faith in New England grit, he wrote to his brother that Louisburg was far too hard a nut for their teeth to crack. But, with the help of a British fleet, Pepperrell and his men, after six weeks' fighting, did crack it (1745), and Boston fairly went wild over the great news.¹ The victory had two important results:

1. It broke up the nest of French pirates at Louisburg, and so put an end to their capturing and plundering Massachusetts fishing vessels.

2. It made the New England people feel that they could beat the French even when they had granite walls to protect them.



TAKING OF LOUISBURG—DRAGGING THE GUNS ACROSS THE MARSH

At the end of the war England gave Louisburg back to France; but she could not give back the confidence the French once had in the famous fortress. The "Yankees" had taken it; and what men have done, they can do again.

136. The Fourth or "French and Indian War"; the Great Line of French Forts. The fourth and final struggle (1754-1763) was known as the "French and Indian War." It was fought to decide the great question whether the French or the English should control the continent of America.

The English outnumbered the French fifteen to one; but the French had got possession of the two chief rivers of the country, —the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi (§§ 48, 131, 133). To

¹ Notwithstanding the bravery of Pepperrell and his gallant little force, it is not likely that they, even with the help of the British fleet, could have taken Louisburg had that fort possessed an efficient garrison and a competent commander. It had neither, and hence it fell. England was astonished, and the King was so delighted that he made the American commander a baronet, — Sir William Pepperrell. He was the first native of New England who received that honor; though William Phips (§ 134) had been *knighted* more than fifty years before.

clinch their hold they built fort after fort, until they had a line extending from Quebec to the Great Lakes, and thence down the Wabash, the Illinois, and the Mississippi to the Gulf. (Map, p. 111.) Where many of those and succeeding forts stood, flourishing cities have since risen, which still keep the old French or Indian names of Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Natchez, New Orleans. That shows the forethought of the French explorers. When they selected a spot to fortify, they seem to have thought not only of its military strength but also of the possibilities of its growth as a center of business and commerce.

137. The Ohio Company; Governor Dinwiddie's Messenger.

But at last the English began to open their eyes to the danger which threatened them. They saw that unless they moved into the rich territory west of the Alleghenies, they would lose the heart of the continent and the French would have everything their own way. To prevent such a disaster the Ohio Company was formed in Virginia (1748), to plant a colony of emigrants on the east bank of the upper Ohio.¹

The French at once resolved to stop the movement, and began a new line of forts, extending southward from Erie on Lake Erie to the point where the Allegheny and the Monongahela rivers unite to form the Ohio. That point at the head of inland navigation was called the "Gateway of the West." Both parties knew its importance; both meant to seize and fortify it. (Map, p. 114.)

Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia determined (1753) to send a messenger to Venango, — one of the new French forts, — and warn off the intruders.² Whoever undertook such a journey must travel at least three hundred miles on foot, climb a succession of mountain ranges, cross rivers as best he could, and risk his life among hostile Indians.

¹ The first Ohio Company (1748), whose chief manager, Lawrence Washington, brother of George Washington, died in 1752, received a grant of 500,000 acres on the east bank of the Ohio, between the Great Kanawha and the Monongahela rivers. The region is now embraced by West Virginia and southwest Pennsylvania.

² The English maintained that they had purchased the Ohio Valley region of the Iroquois Indians, who declared that they had conquered it many years before. There is no evidence that the Iroquois had any right to sell the land.

The Governor finally decided to intrust this difficult and dangerous work to the brother of the late chief manager of the Ohio Company, a young man of twenty-one, who was a skillful surveyor, knew all about life in the wilderness, and did not know what fear meant. The name of that young man may still be read on a lofty limestone cliff of the Natural Bridge in Virginia, where, when a lad, he climbed up higher than any of his companions dared to go, and cut it with his hunting knife, — **GEORGE WASHINGTON.**¹



WASHINGTON BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

Washington performed the journey (1753), but the French commander sent back an unsatisfactory reply to the Governor. The expedition had, however, two important results :

138. Results of Washington's Journey. Washington performed the journey (1753), but the French commander sent back an unsatisfactory

reply to the Governor. The expedition had, however, two important results :

1. It impressed Washington with the immense value and future growth of the Ohio Valley. In time he came to hold more land there than any one else in that section. Throughout his

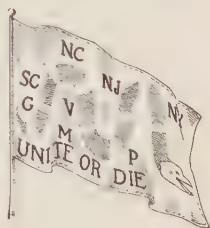
¹ George Washington was born at Bridges Creek, Virginia, on the Potomac, about fifty miles south of where Washington now stands. His father, soon after the birth of George, removed to an estate on the Rappahannock opposite Fredericksburg. Nothing remains of the old homestead at Bridges Creek ; but a stone slab marks the site of the house, and bears this inscription : " Here, the 11th of February, 1732, George Washington was born." Difference of reckoning now makes the 11th the 22d. Washington's great-grandfather, John Washington, emigrated from England to Virginia about 1657. It is generally thought that he belonged to one of the old Cavalier families that fought in behalf of Charles I during the

life he used his influence in every way to build roads and canals to open up and settle the "West," or what was then known by that name.

2. The French commander's answer was plainly a challenge to fight. The Ohio Company (§ 137) accepted the challenge and began to build a fort at the "Gateway of the West" (§ 137); but the French drove them out, finished building it, and named it Fort Duquesne in honor of the French governor of Canada. Washington then began a small fort, which he called Fort Necessity, about forty miles south of Fort Duquesne; but the French came in overwhelming force, and compelled him to surrender it. (Map, p. 114.)

139. The Albany Convention; Benjamin Franklin's Snake; Franklin's Plan. A convention of the Northern colonies met at Albany (1754) to consider what should be done. The Iroquois Indians of New York (Map, p. 36), who were staunch friends of the English, sent some of their people to the convention. They warned the colonists that if they did not take up arms, the French would drive every Englishman out of the country.

Benjamin Franklin, who came from Philadelphia to attend the convention, printed a rude wood cut in his paper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, which told its own story. It represented the colonies in the form of a snake cut in pieces, with the motto "Unite or die." Franklin proposed a plan for binding the colonies together for self-protection, but it was not adopted. The English government rejected it as too democratic, though the colonists thought it not democratic enough. Even then, the



English Civil War. George Washington received a fair English education, but nothing more. He excelled in athletic sports and horsemanship, and was fond of life in the woods. He became a skillful surveyor, and found the work highly profitable. By the death of Lawrence Washington, an elder brother, George came eventually into possession of the estate of Mount Vernon (of several thousand acres, with many slaves), on the Potomac, a short distance below the present city of Washington. Washington's mission to the French commander at Venango first brought him into public notice. In 1759 he married Mrs. Martha Custis, a wealthy widow. From this time until his death, in 1799, he will stand prominent in this history. For a full account of Washington, see "Washington and His Country" [Ginn and Company].

authorities in England "dreaded American union as the key-stone of independence."¹

140. Braddock's Defeat; Washington. The next year (1755) General Braddock came from England with troops to drive the French and Indians out of the Ohio Valley. He advanced from Alexandria, Virginia, across the mountains to attack Fort Duquesne (§ 138). (Map, p. 114.) Washington accompanied him. All



BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

went well until the British army had nearly reached the fort. Suddenly a savage yell rose from the woods through which the men were marching, followed by a murderous volley of bullets which killed many. The English general was mortally wounded. A panic set in; his men ran like sheep, and were shot down as they ran. A few days later Braddock died, and was secretly buried at night. Colonel Washington read the funeral service over his grave by torchlight.

It was said in Virginia that Braddock lost the victory, but that Washington's coolness and courage saved the army. A Virginia clergyman, who preached on the disaster, said he believed that "Providence had saved Washington for some important service to his country."

141. The Acadians; Pitt and Victory; Fort Duquesne taken; the French driven to Canada. In the course of the next two years the English took the French province of New Brunswick, and drove many thousands of Acadians, or French inhabitants of Nova Scotia, into exile. This act caused much suffering and

¹ Part of Franklin's plan was that the colonies should have a president appointed by the crown, and a council chosen by the people.

it seemed a cruel thing at the time, but apparently the English had to do it.¹

William Pitt, later known as Lord Chatham, had now become the chief councilor in the English government. He was one of the truest friends that America ever had. He sent fresh troops to fight for the colonists, and the English recaptured and held the famous fort at Louisburg (§ 135).

A second expedition, in which Colonel Washington again took part (§ 140), attacked Fort Duquesne. The fort was taken and named Fort Pitt, in honor of the distinguished statesman who had made the victory possible. To-day we know the place as Pittsburg, the center of the most extensive iron works in the United States.

The victory gave the English the control of the Ohio country, and drove the French back to Canada.

142. Fall of Quebec (1759); Pontiac's Conspiracy. The French had lost Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, Canada (Map. p. 111), but they still held the formidable stronghold of Quebec. This fortress—the "Gibraltar of America"—was built on a lofty rock, overlooking the St. Lawrence. Montcalm, one of the ablest and noblest generals of France, was commander of the fortress. General Wolfe, an English soldier of equal character and courage, resolved to wrest it from him. He had only a few thousand men, a part of whom were American colonists, but every one of these men believed in him heart and soul. They believed, too, just as much in the "Hot Stuff" which Wolfe gave the enemy.²

The death struggle came when Wolfe, with his troops, climbed up from the river to the top of the lofty plain called the Heights

¹ Longfellow has made this exile of the 7000 Acadians the subject of his poem of "Evangeline." Burke called the expulsion "an inhuman act," but recent investigation seems to show that the English were justified in driving out the French, since they positively refused to take the oath of allegiance to England, and their sons were secretly fighting against her (see Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe," I, 234-284).

² Among the rousing battle songs sung by Wolfe's men was one about "Hot Stuff," which began with this appeal:

"Come, each death-daring dog who dares venture his neck,
Come, follow the hero that goes to Quebec;

And ye that love fighting shall soon have enough:

Wolfe commands us, my boys; we shall give them 'Hot Stuff.'"

of Abraham¹ and attacked the French (1759). In the terrible battle both commanders found the truth of the words, "The paths of glory lead but to the grave,"² which Wolfe quoted to his brother officers on the eve of the contest; for both were killed. They met death as only heroes can. The English general exclaimed when he heard that his men had gained the hard-fought field, "Now, God be praised, I die in peace." The

French leader, when told that he must soon breathe his last, said, "So much the better; I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec."

The fall of Quebec practically ended the war; but four years later, Pontiac, chief of a tribe of Michigan Indians and friendly to the French, rose in revolt. He formed a secret league with other tribes, — the Iroquois, of New York (§ 40), refusing to join, — to drive the English from the whole Western country. A young Indian girl betrayed the plot to the commander of the fort at Detroit. Many white settlers were massacred, but Pontiac's attack failed, and he himself was forced to beg for peace. The Indians did not make another general attempt to reconquer the land which



THE ENGLISH CLIMBING
THE HEIGHTS OF
ABRAHAM

the white man had taken from them until Tecumseh rose (§ 225) nearly fifty years later.

143. What the French and Indian War settled; the Treaty of 1763. The battle of Quebec was "one of the great battles of the world," for it marked a turning point in American history. When Wolfe with his brave men climbed in the darkness up the rocky heights back of that great fortress (1759), the whole West,

¹ The Heights of Abraham extend for three miles along the St. Lawrence southwest of Quebec. The French believed that these Heights were inaccessible from the river.

² Gray's "Elegy written in a Country Churchyard," 1749. "Gentlemen," said Wolfe to his officers, "I would rather have written those lines than take Quebec."

from Quebec to the Mississippi and New Orleans, belonged to France. (Map, p. 111.)

When the sun went down the following day, France had lost her hold on America forever. By the treaty of peace of 1763 the French king gave to England the whole of his possessions on this continent. Of all the magnificent territory which he had owned on this side the Atlantic he now had nothing left except a small portion of the West Indies, and two little barren islands (Miquelon and St. Pierre) off the coast of southern Newfoundland, which the English permitted him to keep, to dry fish on.

The war settled the fact that America was not to be an appendage of France, but was to become the home of the chief part of the English-speaking race. Spain had owned Florida ever since its discovery by Ponce de Leon (§ 18). She had fought on the side of France against England: now that France was defeated Spain was forced to give up Florida to Great Britain, who held it for twenty years and then ceded it back to Spain (1783).

Thus by the end of 1763 the English flag floated over the whole eastern section of this continent, from the Atlantic to the great river of the West, with the single exception of New Orleans, which, with the Louisiana territory west of the Mississippi, France had secretly transferred to Spain.

Another result of the treaty of 1763 was that England (in order to make Spain a rival of France) now recognized Spain's claim to the great province of Louisiana. This made the Mississippi the western boundary of the American colonies, so that none of them could henceforth claim territory extending to the Pacific. (Maps, pp. 111, 168.)

144. Results of the Four English and French Wars. The four great wars between the English and the French in this country (§§ 134-136) had decisive results:

1. They united the inhabitants of the colonies—especially those north of the Carolinas—and inspired them with new strength.

2. They trained thousands of resolute men in the use of arms, taught them to face an enemy, and thus in a measure prepared them for the War of Independence not many years distant.

3. They removed all danger of attack by the French and so made the colonists feel less need of British protection.

4. They cleared the ground east of the Mississippi of rival and hostile forces, and left it open for our ancestors to lay — when the right time should come — the corner stone of the United States.

GENERAL STATE OF THE COUNTRY IN 1763

145. The Thirteen Colonies in 1763; Growth of the Country; Number and Character of the Population. The growth of the colonies from the first permanent English settlements in 1607 (§ 46) and 1620 (§ 73) to the end of the French and Indian War, 1763 (§ 143), had been slow but steady. When a gardener finds that a healthy young plant shows but little progress, he is not discouraged. He says cheerfully, "It is all right; it is making roots, and will last the longer." For a century and a half the colonies had been "making roots," — getting that firm hold so necessary for the future growth of a free and powerful nation.

In 1763, when England made peace with France (§ 143), the entire population of the thirteen colonies probably did not greatly exceed half that of New York City now. Of this about one sixth were negro slaves; every colony had some, but by far the larger part were owned south of the Potomac. The population was nearly all east of the Alleghenies. West of those mountains the country was an almost unbroken wilderness. The majority of the colonists, especially in Virginia and New England, were English or of English descent. Next in number came the Germans in Pennsylvania (§ 119), the Dutch in New York (§ 59), the Irish and Scotch-Irish (§ 92), who had settled to some extent in all of the colonies, and finally, the descendants of the Huguenots, or French Protestants, most numerous in South Carolina (§ 115).

146. Language ; Religion ; Social Rank ; Cities ; Trade. Nearly all of the colonists spoke English, and nearly all were Protestants.¹ Most of them had sprung from the same social class in the mother country. A witty Frenchman of that day said that the people of England reminded him of a barrel of their own beer — froth on the top, dregs at the bottom, but clear and sound in the middle. That energetic, industrious, self-respecting middle class furnished the greater part of the emigrants to this country.

In none of the colonies was there a titled aristocracy holding land and established by law, as in Europe. In Virginia, however, the great plantations were usually handed down to the eldest son, after the English fashion. America had men of intelligence and wealth, but no lords ; she had learned and influential clergymen, but, outside of certain royal provinces (§ 147), she had no bishops.

Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Charleston were the chief cities, yet even Philadelphia, then the largest, had only about twenty thousand inhabitants, and not one of these cities published a daily paper and did not until more than twenty years later.²

The foreign trade of the country was prosperous. The South exported tobacco, rice, indigo, tar, and turpentine ; the North, fish, lumber, furs, and iron. New England built and sold so many sailing vessels that the ship carpenters of Great Britain complained that the Americans were ruining their business.

Manufactories were comparatively few. England treated her colonies in a broader and more generous spirit than any other nation in Europe, but she wished, so far as practicable, to compel the Americans to buy all their goods from her. On this account she endeavored to prevent them from weaving a yard of fine woolen cloth, casting an iron pot, or printing a copy of the

¹ The greatest number of Catholics were in Maryland ; there they may have constituted a fifteenth of the population.

² The *Boston News Letter*, 1704 (weekly), was the first regular newspaper published in America. The *American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, 1784, is said to have been the first daily.

Bible. Furthermore, England passed laws, like the Navigation Acts (§ 54), to compel the colonists to confine all their most profitable commerce to English ports. On the other hand, England paid the colonists liberal premiums or bounties for exporting such products as indigo, and "naval stores" such as hemp, tar, pitch, turpentine, rosin, and masts for vessels. Besides this England bought all the tobacco they wanted to sell and also purchased a good deal of their iron. The people of this country did not openly dispute the right, or supposed right, of the mother country to restrict their trade; but they smuggled goods, especially tea, wines, silks, and other luxuries, from Europe; and the custom-house officers at Philadelphia, New York, and Boston winked at the landing of such articles.

147. Government of the Colonies; Law; Unity of the People.

The colonies did not all have the same form of government. Connecticut and Rhode Island held charters, by which they practically managed their own affairs in their own way. Eight of the remaining colonies were royal provinces¹ ruled by governors appointed by the King; the three others, Pennsylvania with Delaware (§ 120) and Maryland (§ 100), were governed by their proprietors, the descendants of William Penn and of Lord Baltimore.

All the colonies had legislative assemblies elected by the people; by means of these assemblies they levied their own taxes and had the chief voice in making their own laws.² In New England all matters of public interest were openly and fearlessly discussed in town meeting; in Virginia, county meetings were held occasionally for the same purpose. Every white man in the thirteen colonies had the right to trial by jury and to the protection given by the common law of England (§ 44).

The colonists, though loyal to the King, were full of sturdy independence of character. Some of them adopted a flag (1775) on which was a rattlesnake coiled ready to strike, and the words,

¹ Massachusetts had a charter, but could make only such laws as her Governor, appointed by the King, saw fit to approve.

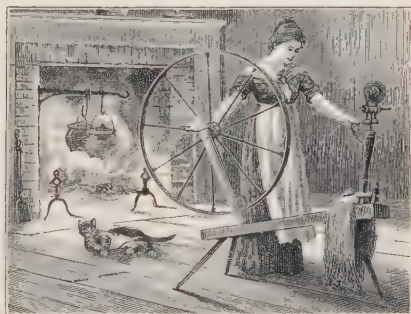
² The laws enacted by the colonial assemblies required the Governor's approval, except in Rhode Island and Connecticut, where the people elected the Governor and could legislate, if they chose, without his consent.

"DON'T TREAD ON ME"; that flag expressed what their real spirit had always been. Though there was but little communication between the colonies, yet they were essentially one people,—they spoke the same language, they appealed for justice to the same general law, they held, with some few exceptions, the same religion.

148. Life among the Farmers. Few of the colonists were very rich; fewer still were miserably poor. The mass of the people lived simply but comfortably. The farmhouses were generally built of huge timbers covered with rough, unpainted clapboards, often with the upper story projecting, so that in case of an attack by Indians the owner could fire down on the savages and give them a reception they would remember.

Usually the center of such houses was taken up by an immense open fireplace, so big that it was a fair question whether the chimney was built for the house or the house for the chimney.

On a stormy winter's night there was no more cheerful sight than such a fireplace piled up with blazing logs, around which our forefathers and their sturdy families sat contentedly, watching the flames as they leaped up the chimney.¹ But these roaring fires meant work. During the day the woodchopper seemed to hear them forever crying "More, more," and if by ill chance they went out at night, there were no matches to rekindle them. That had to be done by striking a spark with flint and steel, catching it on a bit of old half-burnt rag, and then blowing that spark to a flame. If we are tempted to envy our ancestors their cosy winter evenings, probably few would envy them their winter mornings in case the fire failed to keep over.



A FARMER'S FIRESIDE

¹ Read the description of such a fireside in Whittier's delightful poem of "Snow-Bound."

The cooking was done either over or before these open fires, or in huge brick ovens. The food was very simple, — often nothing more than corn-meal mush with molasses for breakfast, — but there was plenty of it, and no lack of healthy appetite.

The farmer bought little at the store. He raised his own food; his sheep furnished wool, and his wife and daughters spun and wove it into stout "homespun" cloth. In such households there were few idle days, but many happy ones; and for recreation the young people had sleighing parties, husking bees,¹ general trainings,² and other merrymakings.



A VIRGINIA PLANTER'S
HOUSE

149. Life in the Cities and on the Great Virginia Plantations. In the cities and large towns, and on the great plantations at the South, there was a good deal of luxury. Rich men like Washington, who was one of the wealthiest landholders in the country, sometimes lived in stately mansions, furnished with solid oak and mahogany imported from England. Their tables shone with silver plate and sparkled with costly wines. They owned their black servants instead of hiring them. Gentlemen, when in

full dress, wore three-cornered cocked hats, long velvet coats, lace ruffles at their wrists, knee breeches,³ white silk stockings, and shoes with silver buckles. They kept their hair long, powdered it white, and tied it back in a twist or a queue with a black silk ribbon.

Ladies wore gowns of brocade⁴ and rich silk almost stiff enough to stand alone. They also powdered their hair, so that

¹ Husking bees: at these gatherings the young people met to husk corn; there was usually quite as much fun as work on such occasions.

² General trainings: meetings for military drill. They occurred once or twice a year, and were regarded as holidays.

³ Knee breeches: breeches coming down to the knees; before the introduction of trousers they were worn by men of all classes.

⁴ Brocade: cloth or stuff richly embroidered with raised flowers or other figures in silk or gold and silver thread.

all people of fashion, whether young or old, looked stately and venerable.

In general, life moved in somewhat the same stately way: there was no hurrying to catch trains, no rush and scramble for electric cars, no flashing of telegrams from one end of the country to the other, no newsboys shouting daily papers, no instantaneous photographs, no pushing and hustling in overcrowded streets. On Sunday every one, or practically every one, went to church; and, in New England, if a man was absent the minister of the parish told him, in a way that could not be mistaken, that he must know the reason why.

150. Travel; Letters; Hospitality; Severe Laws. People seldom traveled. When they did, they generally preferred going by water if possible, in order to avoid the bad roads. But as such traveling was wholly in sailing vessels, the time when a man reached his destination depended altogether on the wind, and the wind made no promises. Knowing this fact, some chose to go by land. To accommodate these venturesome people a lumbering covered wagon ran once a week between New York and Philadelphia, traveling at the rate of about three miles an hour. Later (1766), an enterprising individual put on a wagon which actually made the trip of ninety miles in two days. On account of its speed it was advertised as the "Flying Machine"; the cheaper conveyances, which did not "fly," took a day longer to make the journey. In the wet season of the year the passengers often worked their passage as well as paid for it, for they were frequently called on to get out and pry the wagon out of the mud with fence rails. Sometimes a wheel gave out and the wagon stuck fast.



THE "FLYING MACHINE"

The expense of carrying the mails made postage so high that but few letters were written. These were rarely prepaid; and as a charge of twenty-five cents on a single letter was not very uncommon, most persons preferred that their friends should think of them often but write to them seldom.

Yet if people rarely wrote to each other and traveled but little, they were quite sure of being hospitably entertained along the way when they did venture from home. This was especially the case in Virginia.

The rich planters in that section considered a guest a prize. He brought the latest news and the newest gossip. It was no strange thing for a planter to send out one of his negroes to station himself by the roadside to watch for the coming of some respectable-looking stranger on horseback. Then the servant, smiling and bowing, begged him to turn aside and stop over night at his master's mansion. There he was sure to be treated to the best there was in the house; and as no temperance society had then come into existence, the best, both North and South, always meant plenty to drink as well as plenty to eat, followed perhaps by a fox hunt, or some other sport, the next day.



HOW THEY SPENT THEIR TIME
IN THE PILLORY AND IN
THE STOCKS

But if the times were hospitable, they were also somewhat rough and even brutal. A trifling offense would often send a man to the stocks for meditation, and something more serious to the pillory, where the passers-by might stop to pelt him with a handful of mud, a rotten apple, or something worse. Imprisonment for debt was a common occurrence; petty thieves and disorderly persons were publicly whipped, while men guilty of highway robbery or murder were paraded through the principal streets and then hanged before the crowd.

151. Education; Books; Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Franklin. Most of the colonists, especially in New England, where free schools had long been established by law (§ 80), could read and write fairly well; and a small number, particularly

clergymen, were highly educated. Very few books were published, but the rich imported a stock of the best English authors, and, what is more, they read them.

The two ablest American writers of that day were the Rev. Jonathan Edwards of Connecticut, who later became a resident of Massachusetts, and Benjamin Franklin, born in Boston, but who soon became a citizen of Philadelphia. Edwards wrote his great work "On the Freedom of the Will" for that small number of readers who like a book which forces them to think as well as read. Not many can grasp Edwards's thought about the "Will," but we can all understand how nobly he used his own will when he made these two resolutions: (1) "*To do whatever I think to be my duty.*" (2) "*To live with all my might while I do live.*"

Franklin's best known work was his Almanac, commonly called "Poor Richard's Almanac,"¹ which he published for many years. It was full of shrewd, practical wit and wisdom, and it suited a hard-working people. Men who had begun life with no help but such as they got from their own hands and their own brains liked to read such sayings as these: "*Diligence is the mother of good luck.*" "*He that can have patience can have what he will.*" "*Heaven helps those who help themselves.*" Thousands of young men learned these maxims by heart, put them in practice, and found their reward in the prosperity and independence to which they led.

152. Franklin's Electrical Experiments. But Franklin did not confine himself to writing; he was also greatly interested in scientific experiments. Everybody has noticed that the fur of a cat's back, when stroked vigorously the wrong way on a winter's night, will send out a multitude of electric sparks. Franklin, who never minded the cat's claws, asked himself, Are these sparks the same as the flashes of lightning seen in a thundershower? He resolved to find out. To do this he sent up a kite during a shower, and fastened a door key near the end of the string. Touching his knuckle

¹ Because Franklin represents a curious old fellow, whom he calls "Poor Richard," as uttering the sayings which made the almanac famous. Franklin later wrote his "Autobiography." See Montgomery and Trent's "Franklin" [Ginn and Company].

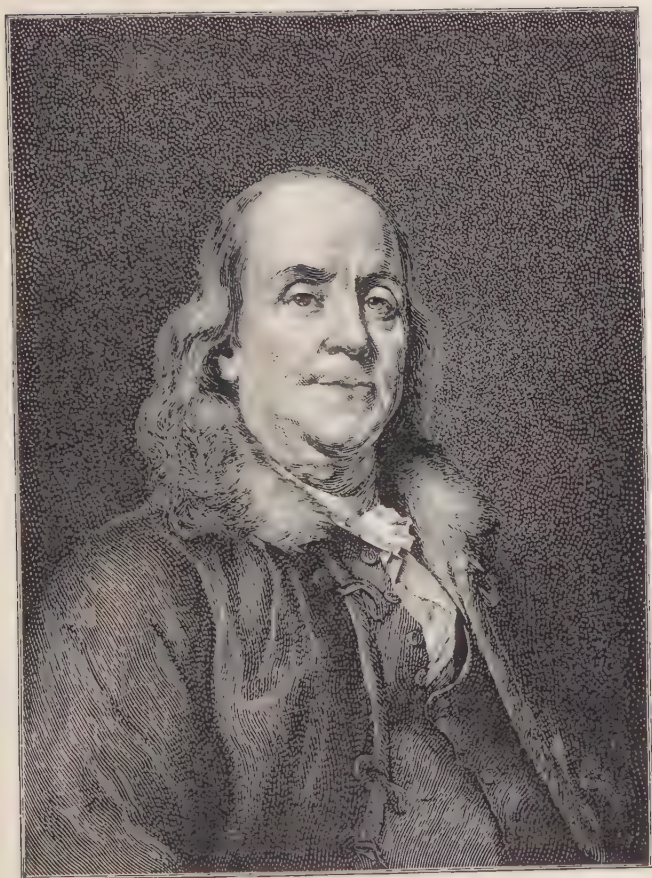
to the key, he got an electric spark from it. This, and other experiments, convinced him that his conjecture was right; electricity and lightning, said he, are one and the same thing.

That discovery, simple as it now seems, made Franklin famous. When he went to England on business for the colonies he needed no introduction, — everybody had heard of the American who had found the "key to the clouds" and to electrical science as well. Even George III, though he heartily hated Franklin for his independent spirit, actually put up a bungling kind of Franklin lightning rod — one with a ball instead of a point — on his palace in London.

To-day we light our cities, propel our street cars, some of our motor cars, the trolleys on our great network of electric roads, drive machinery of various kinds, ring our fire alarms, and send our messages across continents, under oceans, and through the air, by this mysterious power. We owe the practical beginning of much of this to Franklin. He said, "*There are no bounds . . . to the force man may raise and use in the electrical way.*" In view of what is now being done in this "electrical way," the words of the Philadelphia printer, philosopher, and statesman — written more than a hundred years ago — read like a prophecy.

153. General Summary. The thirteen colonies were settled, mainly by the English, between 1607 and 1733, — Virginia was the first colony founded (1607), Massachusetts the second (Plymouth, 1620; Boston, 1630), Georgia (1733) the last. During the closing seventy years of this period (1689-1763) the colonists were engaged nearly half of the time in wars with the French of Canada, who claimed the West by right of exploration.

In these wars many Indian tribes (but not the Iroquois of New York) fought for the French. The colonists, with the aid of England, gained the victory, and thus obtained possession of the country from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. Up to that time (1763) the people had been growing in prosperity, in intelligence, and in the determination to maintain all those rights which the King had originally granted them by his written charters, and to which, as English colonists, they were justly entitled (§ 44).



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

IV

"Resolved, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES." — *Motion made in the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, June 7, 1776, by Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, seconded by John Adams of Massachusetts.*

THE REVOLUTION · THE CONSTITUTION¹

(1763-1789)

THE COLONISTS RESIST TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION, 1764-1775 ·
THEY MAKE WAR AGAINST ENGLAND IN DEFENSE OF THEIR RIGHTS
AS ENGLISH SUBJECTS, 1775-JULY 4, 1776 · THEY DECLARE THEM-
SELVES INDEPENDENT, JULY 4, 1776 · THE PEOPLE OF THE
UNITED STATES ADOPT THE CONSTITUTION, 1787-1788

154. American Commerce; the New King, George III; how he interfered with Trade. Up to the close of the war by which England had compelled the French to give up their hold on America (1763) the people of this country had prospered. During that war (§ 143), and for a long time before it, the laws which forbade the colonists to trade with any country except Great Britain (§§ 54, 146) had not been enforced. The New Englanders had made a great deal of money by trading with the French and the

¹ Reference Books. (*The Revolution.*) A. B. Hart's "Formation of the Union," ch. 3-4; G. E. Howard's "Preliminaries of the Revolution," ch. 3-18; C. H. Van Tyne's "The American Revolution," ch. 1-17; A. B. Hart's "American History by Contemporaries," II, ch. 21-35; A. B. Hart's "Source Book," ch. 9; J. Fiske's "War of Independence," ch. 4-8; H. C. Lodge's "The Story of the Revolution," 2 vols.; W. C. Bryant and Gay's "United States" (revised edition), III, ch. 13-24; IV, ch. 1-4.

(*The Articles of Confederation and the Constitution.*) A. B. Hart's "Formation of the Union," ch. 5-7; A. B. Hart's "American History by Contemporaries," III, ch. 6-12; A. B. Hart's "Source Book," ch. 10; A. C. McLaughlin's "The Confederation and the Constitution," ch. 3-18; J. Fiske's "The Critical Period of American History," ch. 3-7; W. C. Bryant and Gay's "United States" (revised edition), IV, ch. 5; J. B. McMaster's "United States," I, pp. 436-502; J. Schouler's "United States," I, ch. 1. See also the classified List of Books in the Appendix.

Spanish West Indies — sending them lumber and fish, and bringing back molasses and sugar from the French islanders, and kegs of silver dollars from the Spaniards.

The new king, George III (1760), resolved to enforce the English laws and so break up this profitable commerce. He was conscientious but narrow-minded, obstinate, and at times crazy.¹ He stationed ships of war along the American coast to stop trade with the French and the Spaniards with whom England was at war. Moreover, in Boston and other large towns, the King's officers, armed with general warrants called "Writs of Assistance," began to break into men's houses and shops and search them for smuggled goods.² They did not ask for proof of guilt; they entered and searched when and where they pleased. New England saw her trade broken up. It began to look as though the King meant to ruin every merchant and ship-builder in the country. James Otis,³ of Boston, made a powerful speech against these "Writs of Assistance," but his appeal was in vain.

155. The King proposes to tax the Colonies; Object of the Tax; Protest of the Americans. This, however, was only the beginning of evil. The cost of the late war with France (§ 143) had been enormous, and English taxpayers protested against paying out more money. But the King determined to send at least ten thousand troops to America, to protect, as he said, the colonies against the Indians and the French.

In order to raise money to pay these soldiers, whom the Americans did not want, George III proposed an entirely new measure — that was to levy a direct tax on the people of this country.

¹ The King had his first attack of insanity — a mild one — in 1765, while the Stamp Act was under discussion. In 1788 he felt that his mind was seriously affected; bursting into tears, he exclaimed that "he wished to God he might die, for he was going mad" He soon became so.

² In an ordinary search warrant the person applying to the magistrate for it must swear that he has good reason for suspecting the person he accuses, and must have the name of the accused person, and no other, inserted in the warrant. In the case of the "Writs of Assistance" the officers wrote any name they pleased in the warrants, and then entered and rummaged the man's house from attic to cellar. Sometimes this was done purely out of spite.

³ Otis held the office of advocate general under the King, but he resigned that office in order to attack the King's "Writs of Assistance."

The colonists believed that according to the principles of English law the King had no right to demand his people's money except by consent of the men whom they should elect to represent them in Parliament.¹ The Americans had no such representatives, and, what is more, they were not permitted to send any. For this reason they protested against the tax. The best men in Parliament—such men as William Pitt (§ 141) and Edmund Burke—took the side of the colonists.² Burke said that if the King undertook to tax the Americans against their will, he would find it as hard a job as the farmer did who tried to shear a wolf instead of a sheep.



BRITISH STAMP

156. The Stamp Act proposed. But the King thought that the Americans were like lambs and that they would stand any amount of shearing without once showing their teeth. Accordingly Parliament made ready to pass the Stamp Act.

The proposed act required that the colonists should use stamps—resembling our postage stamps—on all important law and business papers, and also on pamphlets and newspapers. The stamps cost all the way from a half-penny (one cent) up to ten pounds (fifty dollars). Such a law, if enforced, would tax everybody in spite of himself; for every one would have to pay that tax when he bought a newspaper or an almanac, took out a policy of insurance on his house, or made his will.

157. The Colonists resist the Stamp Act; the Stamp Act Congress, 1765. Benjamin Franklin (§ 151), who was in London as agent for the colonies when the Stamp Act was under discussion, fought against it with all his might, but he said he might as well have tried to stop the sun from setting. In Boston,

¹ The British Parliament, which sits in London, is to England what Congress is to the United States. It is a law that no tax shall be levied on the British people except by members of Parliament elected by the people as their representatives.

² Pitt thought it was not right to tax America; Burke thought it was not wise to do so.

Samuel Adams, the "Father of the Revolution,"¹ denounced the proposed act at a town meeting held in Faneuil Hall—the "Cradle of Liberty," as it was called. But Parliament passed the law in 1765.

Then the indignation of the American colonists blazed out in an unmistakable manner. In the Virginia Assembly Patrick Henry² made a speech which fired all hearts, and moved that body to take decisive action. The Assembly boldly resolved that it would not obey any act of Parliament which forced the people to give money to the English government without their consent (§ 155). In his speech against the "Writs of Assistance" James Otis (§ 154) had declared, "Taxation without representation (§ 155) is tyranny." Finally, delegates from nine of the colonies met in New York in the "Stamp Act Congress" (1765).

That Congress drew up a Declaration of Rights which said:

1. The American colonists possess the same rights as all other British subjects in England (§ 44).

2. But they are not represented in the English Parliament, therefore Parliament has no power to tax them. When the hated stamps came the people destroyed them, and even the boys shouted, "Liberty, property, and no stamps!" Many leading citizens now pledged themselves not to buy any more English goods until the hated Stamp Act was repealed.

¹ Samuel Adams, one of the great leaders of the Revolution, was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. It was said that he had the most "radical love" of liberty of any member of that House; he declared (1769), "Independent we are, and independent we will be."

² Patrick Henry was a prominent member of the Virginia Legislature. He was an orator of marvelous power and he always spoke on the side of liberty.



FANEUIL HALL, THE "CRADLE OF LIBERTY," AS IT APPEARED IN 1765

158. Repeal of the Stamp Act; the Declaratory Act; the "Boston Massacre"; Destruction of the *Gaspee*. When news of these vigorous proceedings reached London, William Pitt (§ 155) said in Parliament: "In my opinion, this kingdom has no right to lay a tax on the colonies. . . . I rejoice that America has resisted." The Stamp Act was speedily repealed (1766). Parliament, however, put a sting in its repeal, for it passed a Declaratory Act, maintaining that the British government had the right to bind the colonies "in all cases whatsoever." The Americans did not then see just what that declaration meant.

They saw it, however, when the King sent troops to be quartered here at the expense of the people. New York promptly refused to pay the bill. Later, General Gage, the British commander at New York, came to Boston with two regiments (1768). He quartered his troops in the very center of the town, and they had frequent quarrels with the citizens.

Finally (1770), a fight occurred in which the soldiers fired, in self-defense, and killed several of the people. This was called the "Boston Massacre"; the citizens never forgot or forgave the blood stains then made on the snow of King Street.¹ Later, that feeling showed itself in the destruction by the Rhode Islanders of the *Gaspee*, an armed British vessel stationed off the coast to prevent smuggling.

159. The New Taxes; the "Boston Tea Party." The repeal of the Stamp Act (§ 158) was followed by the passage of the Townshend Acts (1767). These acts imposed import duties on window glass, paper, paints, and tea,—all articles which Parliament believed the colonists could not do without.

The two main objects of these new taxes were:

1. To pay the soldiers sent here by the King.
2. To pay the governors, judges, and other officers of the crown in the colonies and so make them entirely dependent on the King and ready to do his will.

¹ King Street, now State Street. The soldiers were tried for murder; John Adams and Josiah Quincy, Jr., of Boston, defended them. All but two were acquitted. They were convicted of manslaughter and branded in the hand in open court.



REVOLUTIONARY WAR IN THE NORTH

0 25 50 75 100
SCALE OF MILES

0 5 10 15 20 25
SCALE OF MILES

THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO

The Americans generally looked upon the Townshend Acts as a trap to get their money. Many merchants throughout the colonies refused to import any of the taxed articles. Others, like Samuel Adams (§ 157), bound themselves "to eat nothing, drink nothing, wear nothing" imported from England until all the duties on goods should be taken off.

Finally, Parliament decided to take off all the Townshend duties or taxes except one of a few cents a pound on tea. This duty was retained to show that England meant to tax the colonies without their consent. The price of the tea was put so low that the Americans could buy it, even with the tax on it, cheaper than they could smuggle it from Holland.

But the colonists declared that they would not take the tea, even as a gift, if any tax whatever was demanded. None the less cargoes of tea were dispatched (1773) from London to New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Annapolis, and Charleston.

In only one instance — that of Charleston — were the vessels allowed to land the tea, and then it was left to spoil. At Philadelphia a committee told the captains of the tea ships that they would tar and feather them if they did not turn back. At New York the "Sons of Liberty" took action just as decided. At Annapolis the Maryland people actually compelled the owner of the tea ship *Peggy Stewart* to burn his vessel, tea and all.

Meanwhile, the case which caused the greatest excitement occurred at Boston. Three tea ships came into the harbor, but the people refused to let them unload their cargoes. The Governor would not let them go back until they were unloaded, and the people, under the lead of Samuel Adams (§ 157), made up their minds to do the unloading in their own way. An immense meeting was held in the Old South Meeting House in regard to the matter, but nothing could be done. That night a band of citizens disguised as Indians rushed down to the wharf and emptied every chest of tea — nearly \$100,000 worth — into the harbor. A Bostonian had jokingly asked, "Will tea mix with salt water?" The patriots settled that question and the tax at the same time.

160. Parliament closes the Port of Boston and places a Military Governor over the People; the First Continental Congress, 1774; Action of Massachusetts; the "Minutemen"; the Tories. When Parliament heard of the destruction of the tea at Boston, the wrath of the King's party rose to white heat.

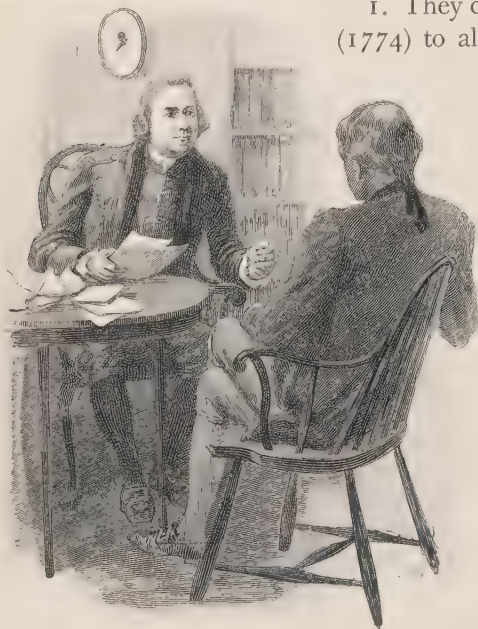
1. They closed the port of Boston (1774) to all trade until the people should pay for the tea, and make humble submission to the King.

2. They took the government entirely out of the hands of the people and put the colony under the rule of General Gage (§ 158). Parliament enacted two other arbitrary measures¹ which completed what the Americans called the four "Intolerable Acts."

Patrick Henry of Virginia (§ 157) was so indignant at the treatment which Massachusetts received that he

said in the Virginia Convention: "There is no longer any room for hope. We must fight. I repeat it, sir; we must *fight*." Samuel Adams (§ 157) had planned "Committees of Correspondence"

¹ These were the Transportation and the Quebec acts. The first gave British officers who were accused of committing murder—as in the case of the "Boston Massacre"—the right of trial in England, where, of course, everything would be in their favor. (By a law of a different date, Americans who committed murder, in resisting oppression, might be sent to England for trial, where, of course, everything would be against them.) The Quebec Act united the territory north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi—which the colonists considered theirs—with Canada. The object was to conciliate the French Canadians, and, if need be, to get their help in punishing the colonists.



SAMUEL ADAMS PLANNING THE "COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE"

that kept the colonies informed by letters of all that was going on. This prepared them for united action, and in 1774 a Continental or General Congress—the first ever held in America—met in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, to consider what course the colonies should take.

The spirit of that Congress was unmistakable. It was perfectly calm, perfectly respectful, but perfectly determined. The delegates who met there, of whom George Washington was one, did not want to have war with England; they wanted peace—peace if they could get it, but justice at any price. They did not ask for representation in Parliament, for they saw that they could not be properly represented in that body 3000 miles away. But they did three things of great importance:

1. They issued a Declaration of Rights in which they demanded the right to levy all taxes.

2. They organized the "American Association" which bound all the colonies joining it to stop buying or using British goods until Parliament should repeal its unjust laws.

3. They humbly petitioned the King to redress their wrongs. They might as well have petitioned the "Great Stone Face" in the White Mountains of New Hampshire.

Not long after this, Massachusetts set up a government (1775) quite independent of the military rule of General Gage, and made John Hancock, a wealthy and influential merchant of Boston, head of it. The colony next raised 12,000 volunteers; a third of them were "minutemen"—men ready to march or fight at a minute's notice. The spirit of liberty was universal; as a South Carolina paper said, "One soul animates 3,000,000 of brave Americans, though extended over a long tract of 2000 miles."

But the Carolina paper forgot the Tories, who constituted a third of the population. They positively refused to take up arms against the King. Like the patriots they were brave men; they loved their country; but they believed that the quarrel could be settled without drawing a sword or firing a gun. In the end the Tories were driven out of the United States, and the patriots seized their houses and lands.

I. FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR IN 1775 BY THE
COLONISTS IN DEFENSE OF THEIR RIGHTS AS ENG-
LISH SUBJECTS, TO THE DECLARATION OF
INDEPENDENCE, JULY 4, 1776

161. The British Expedition to Lexington and Concord; Paul Revere; the Battle; the Retreat. General Gage having learned that the patriots had stored a quantity of powder and provisions at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston, sent a secret expedition to destroy both. The soldiers had orders to go by way of Lexington, and there arrest Samuel Adams (§§ 157, 159) and John Hancock (§ 160), who were stopping with a friend in that village. The London papers boasted that the heads of these



"DISPERSE, YE REBELS!"

two "rebels" would soon be exhibited in that city; but General Gage found out that Adams and Hancock were not the kind of men to lose their heads so easily.

The British troops left Boston just before midnight of April 18, 1775. Paul Revere, a noted Boston patriot, was on the

watch; at his request two signal lanterns flashed the news abroad from the steeple of the Old North Church, and he galloped through the country giving the alarm. When he reached the house in Lexington where Hancock and Adams were asleep, a man on guard cried out to him, "Don't make so much noise." "Noise!" shouted Revere¹; "you'll have noise enough before long; the 'regulars' are coming."

Just before daybreak of April 19 the British "regulars" marched on to the village green of Lexington where a number of "minutemen" had collected. "Disperse, ye rebels!" shouted

¹ Read Longfellow's "Paul Revere's Ride," though it is not strictly historical.

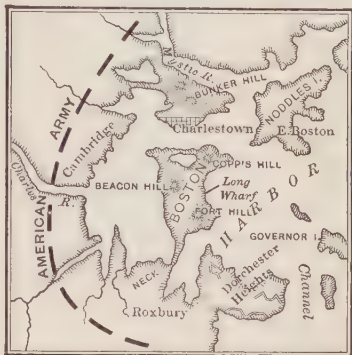
Pitcairn, the British commander. No one moved; then Pitcairn cried, "Fire!" A volley blazed out, and seven Americans fell dead. Some scattering shots were fired in return. Advancing to Concord, the soldiers destroyed such military stores as they could find; at Concord Bridge they were met by the patriots. It was the opening battle of the Revolution, — several men fell on each side. There the first British were killed, there the first British graves were dug. The "regulars" then drew back, leaving the Americans in possession of the bridge, and began their march toward Boston.

But the whole country was now aroused. The enraged farmers fired at the British from behind every wall, bush, and tree. The march became a retreat, the retreat something like a run. When the "regulars" got back to Lexington, where Lord Percy met them with reënforcements, they dropped panting on the ground, "their tongues hanging out" like those of tired dogs.¹ From Lex-

ington the "minutemen" chased the British all the way to Charlestown. Nearly three hundred of the "redcoats," as the Americans nicknamed the English soldiers, lay dead or dying on the road.

Percy had marched gayly out of Boston to the tune of "Yankee Doodle," played in ridicule of the Americans, but it was noticed that his band did not play it on reëntering the town — they had had quite enough of all that was "Yankee" for that day.

The next morning the British army found themselves shut up in Boston. The Americans had surrounded it on the land side; they dared the British to come out and fight — the siege of Boston had begun. (See Map, above.)

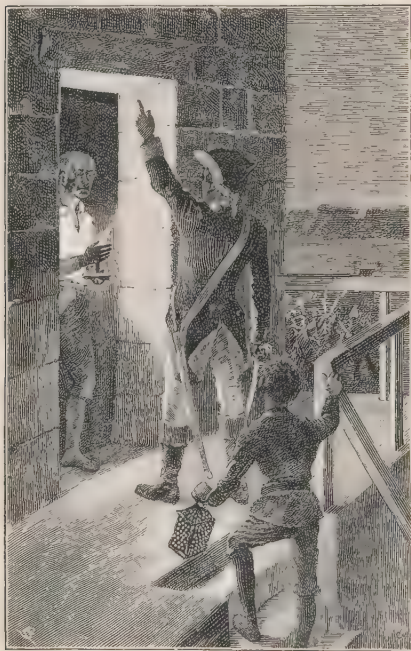


THE AMERICAN ARMY BESIEGING
THE ENGLISH ARMY IN
BOSTON

¹ So says an English officer. See Stedman's "American War," I, 118.

162. The Second Continental Congress; Washington made Commander in Chief; Ethan Allen's Victories. The Second Continental Congress (§ 160) met at Philadelphia on May 10, 1775. It recognized George III as the "rightful sovereign" of the American colonies, but it voted to raise 15,000 men to defend the liberties of the country, and it appointed George Washington

(§§ 137-141) commander in chief of the American army. From this time until the Articles of Confederation were adopted (1781) Congress practically (§ 192) governed the country. Early in the morning of the day on which that Congress met, Ethan Allen, a "Green Mountain Boy," surprised the sentinel on duty and got entrance with his men to Fort Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain. Allen burst into the commandant's room and demanded the immediate and unconditional surrender of the fort. "By what authority?" asked the astonished officer. "In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," thundered Allen. The com-



ETHAN ALLEN TAKES FORT TICONDEROGA

mandant surrendered; the Americans got possession of cannon, arms, and military stores which they sorely needed. Crown Point, a small fort on the lake, north of Ticonderoga, was taken the next day.

163. Battle of Bunker Hill. General Gage (§ 160) had received reënforcements from England under the command of Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne. He now had a force of about

8000 men. Near the middle of June, 1775, he planned an expedition to seize Bunker Hill.¹ This hill is in Charlestown and overlooks part of Boston. Gage was afraid that the Americans might get possession of it; if so, they could fire into his camp and make him very uncomfortable. (Map, p. 143.)

What, then, was his surprise when he found on the morning of the 17th of June that the "rebels," under the command of Colonel Prescott, had got the start of him, and that, during the night, they had actually seized and fortified the hill. General Gage saw that he must drive the Americans out of their entrenchments or they would drive him out of Boston. He sent Howe to make the attack with 3000 British "regulars." The American officers had about half that number of men. As the British moved up the hill the patriots received this order: "Don't fire till you see the white of their eyes." They obeyed; when they did fire the destruction of life was terrible. The smoke lifted and there lay "The 'redcoats' stretched in windrows as a mower rakes his hay."²



COLONEL PRESCOTT ON BUNKER
HILL

The British fell back, rallied, made a second attack, and again fell back. A third time Howe led his men up the hill. This time he was successful. The Americans had fired their last round of ammunition, and, fighting desperately with the butt ends of their muskets and even with clubs and stones, they slowly retreated. They were driven back because they no longer had the means to continue the battle.

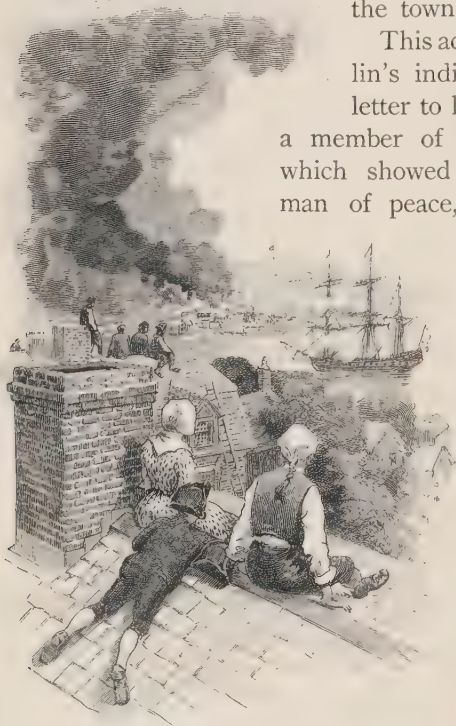
¹ The name Breed's Hill did not then exist. See Frothingham's "Joseph Warren," p. 507, and Winsor's "America," VI, 135.

² Read O. W. Holmes's fine poem, "Grandmother's Story of Bunker Hill."

In an hour and a half the British lost over 1000 men out of 3000. The American loss was somewhat less than half as much.¹ During the engagement Howe ordered Charlestown to be fired, and by night the greater part of the town was in ashes.

This act roused Benjamin Franklin's indignation, and he wrote a letter to his former friend Strahan, a member of the English Parliament, which showed that though he was a man of peace, yet he knew when to be angry (see Franklin's letter on the opposite page). When General Washington heard how the Americans had fought at Bunker Hill he exclaimed, "The liberties of the country are safe!"

164. Washington takes Command of the Army; Expedition against Quebec. Washington reached Cambridge and took command of the army (§ 162) of 15,000 poorly armed and untrained men (1775). Meanwhile Congress had



WATCHING THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL
FROM THE NORTH END, BOSTON

learned that the British in Canada were intending to attack points in northern New York. To give them something else to think of nearer home, General Montgomery of New York set out to take Quebec. He descended Lake Champlain and captured Montreal.

¹ American loss 449, British 1054. Gage was ordered back to England and General Howe received command.

Philad^a July 5. 1775-

W^m Strahan,

You are a Member of Parliament,
and one of that Majority which has
doomed my Country to Destruction—
—You have begun to burn our Towns,
and murder our People. — Look upon
your Hands! — They are stained with the
Blood of ^{your} Relations! — You and I were
long Friends: — You are now my ene-
my, — and

I am,

Yours,
B Franklin

FRANKLIN'S LETTER TO STRAHAN

Benedict Arnold of Connecticut, one of the bravest soldiers of the Revolution, started with over 1000 men to join in the attack. Setting out from Newburyport, Massachusetts, Arnold undertook to make his way from the mouth of the Kennebec through the forests of Maine. He was six weeks getting across the wilderness. The suffering was so terrible that many men deserted, and the rest, after having been compelled to eat their moccasins, nearly perished.

At last Arnold reached Quebec with his ragged, barefooted, half-starved, and sadly diminished little army. Montgomery joined him with a few hundred men, and with this small force they attempted, on the last day of the year (1775), to storm "the strongest fortified city of America" (§ 142). Montgomery was killed at the head of his troops, and Arnold badly wounded — it would have been a happy thing for the latter if he, too, had fallen dead on the field (§ 186). A few months later the Americans were driven out of Canada.



ARNOLD'S EXPEDITION

165. Washington enters Boston; the British repulsed at Fort Moultrie. Throughout the winter (1775-1776) want of artillery and powder prevented Washington from doing anything more than simply keeping up the siege of Boston (§ 161). At length General

Knox succeeded in dragging fifty cannon on ox sleds through the woods from Ticonderoga to Cambridge. Early in March (1776) Washington seized Dorchester Heights (South Boston) overlooking Boston on the south. He got his cannon into position and then gave General Howe (§ 163) his choice of withdrawing his forces from the town or having it battered to pieces about his ears. Howe took a good look, through his spyglass, at the American guns on the Heights, and ordered his men to embark as rapidly as possible (March 17 — St. Patrick's Day — 1776) for Halifax.

The following day Washington entered Boston in triumph. The British had left it never to return. With them went about a thousand Tories, as those Americans were called who opposed the war and wished to submit to the King (§ 160).

About mid-summer (1776) a British fleet¹ attacked Fort Sullivan, in the harbor

of Charleston, South Carolina. The British hoped to get possession of the city; but Colonel Moultrie, aided by such heroes as Sergeant Jasper, defended his log fort with such energy that the enemy were glad enough to withdraw.²

166. "Common Sense"; the Americans decide to separate from Great Britain. Up to 1776 the Americans had been fighting in defense of their rights as English subjects. Washington said, "When I first took command of the Continental army I abhorred the idea of independence." But in January

(1776) the King's proclamation reached Congress. In it he called for troops to put down "the rebellion" in America. That was the only answer he gave to their humble petition for justice (§ 160).

¹ General Clinton left Boston in the winter of 1776 and sailed to attack the Carolinas. He was joined there by a fleet from England under Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis. After their defeat at Fort Sullivan, Cornwallis and Clinton, with their men, went to New York.

² After the victory Fort Sullivan was named Fort Moultrie.



REDUCED COPY OF THE GOLD MEDAL PRESENTED TO WASHINGTON BY CONGRESS TO COMMEMORATE HIS DRIVING THE BRITISH OUT OF BOSTON



"INDEPENDENCE HALL," PHILADELPHIA, AS IT APPEARED IN 1776

The very day that proclamation came, a remarkable pamphlet was published in Philadelphia. It was entitled "Common Sense." The writer was Thomas Paine, an Englishman who had come here to live. He boldly said that the time had come for a "final separation" from England, and that "arms must decide the contest." The pamphlet sold by tens of thousands, because it gave voice to what tens of thousands were thinking.

The English people would not volunteer to fight the Americans, and the King had to hire nearly 30,000 Hessians, from the Prince of Hesse in Germany, to help do the work. The knowledge of that fact cut the last thread that held us bound to the mother country. The Americans had not sought separation; the King—not the English people—had forced it on them.

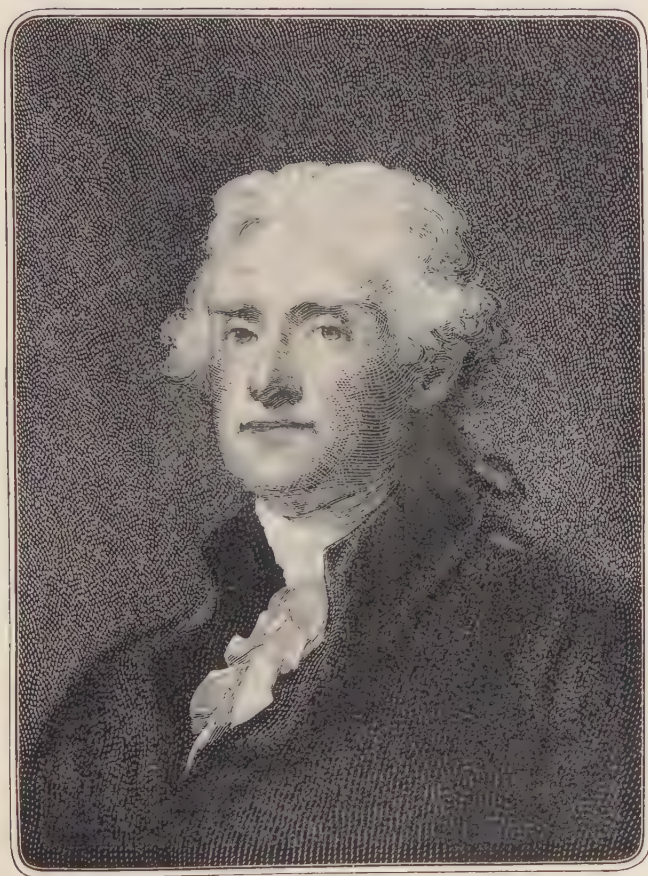
167. The Declaration of Independence. In June, 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia offered this resolution in the Continental

*And for the support of this declaration]
we mutually pledge to each other our
lives our fortunes, & our sacred honour.*

John Hancock
Sam^l Adams *John Adams* *John Adams*

REDUCED COPY OF THE LAST LINE OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (IN JEFFERSON'S HANDWRITING) WITH THE FIRST THREE SIGNATURES

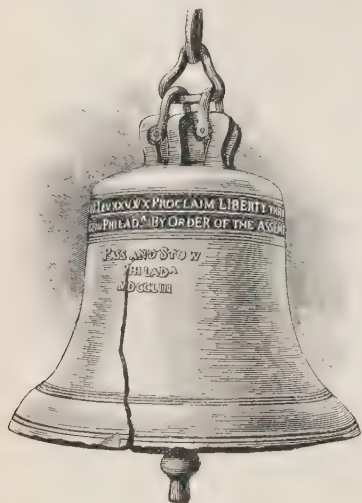
Congress which was sitting in the Old State House in Philadelphia: "Resolved: that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES." John Adams of Massachusetts seconded the resolution. A committee of five—Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, John Adams of Massachusetts,



THOMAS JEFFERSON

Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston of New York — was chosen to draw up a declaration embodying that resolution. Thomas Jefferson did the work. On the Fourth of July, 1776, John Hancock (§ 160), President of Congress, signed the Declaration of American Independence in that bold, decided hand which

"the King of England could read without spectacles." Then the patriots of Philadelphia rang the "Liberty Bell" in the Old State House (now called "Independence Hall") till it nearly cracked with the joyous peal. In New York City the people pulled down a gilded lead statue of the King and melted it up into bullets.



LIBERTY BELL, INDEPENDENCE
HALL, PHILADELPHIA

It was cracked in 1835, while tolling for the death of Chief Justice Marshall.

Later, the representatives of the colonies added their names to the Declaration. That completed the work; the thirteen British colonies had ceased to exist; in their place stood a new nation — the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA — your country and mine.

168. Summary. George III endeavored to tax the English colonists in America against their will, and in violation of their rights as English subjects. The colonists resisted, and finally took up arms to defend themselves. The King refused to do justice to the Americans, hired a foreign army to help subdue them, and so drove them to separate from Great Britain and to declare themselves independent.

II. THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, FROM JULY 4, 1776, TO THE VICTORY OF SARATOGA, 1777

169. The British aim at New York; Our Navy. Driven out of Boston (§ 165) and defeated at Charleston (§ 165), the British determined to strike New York. Their plan was to get possession of the city and of the Hudson River. They could then prevent the New England colonists and those south of New York from helping each other, for our force on land was small, and we had no proper war ships to attack the enemy by sea.

Later, we built a little navy. It was commanded by such heroes as John Barry (§ 214), who captured the first English armed vessel taken by us (1776), and Paul Jones, who did a great work a little later (§ 183).

Our privateers also captured many English merchant ships laden with powder and war supplies.

170. Washington's Preparations to receive the British; Fort Washington and Fort Lee. Washington foresaw this design of the enemy and prepared for it. When General Howe (§ 165), with his brother, Lord Howe, commander of the English fleet, reached New York in the summer (1776) they found Washington in possession of the city. They found, too, that they could not send their ships up the Hudson as easily as they had hoped, for the Americans had built Fort Washington and Fort Lee expressly to prevent it. (Map, p. 138.)

171. The Two Armies; the Battle of Long Island. Still the British were confident that they could win the day. Howe and his brother were experienced military commanders. They had the aid of General Clinton and General Cornwallis, and over 30,000 well-armed soldiers—men who fought for a living. Washington had less than 18,000, most of whom knew nothing of war, while many had no muskets fit to fight with. But Washington held the city and the forts on the Hudson and he had possession of Brooklyn Heights on Long Island, directly opposite the city on the south.

General Howe, with his army, was on Staten Island. He saw that if he could take Brooklyn Heights and plant his cannon

there, he could drive Washington out of New York, just as Washington, by seizing Dorchester Heights, had driven him out of Boston (§ 165).

General Putnam was in command of the Heights with a force of 9000 Americans. In the battle of Long Island (August 27, 1776) the gallant little American army met with defeat.

Putnam with his whole force would certainly have been captured if it had not been for Washington's energy and skill. During the night a dense fog came up, and under cover of it Washington got all of Putnam's men safe across the river in boats to New York. In the morning, when the British commander stretched out his hand to take the "nest of rebels," as he called it, he got the nest indeed, but it was empty — the birds had flown.

172. Washington retreats Northward; Nathan Hale; Fort Washington taken; Lee's Disobedience. Washington was now forced to abandon New York and retreat up the east side of the river. He was naturally very anxious to find out what the British meant to do next. Captain Nathan Hale of Connecticut volunteered to try to get this information for him, but the brave young man was arrested and hanged as a spy. As he stood on the gallows he said to the British officer in charge, "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

Washington ordered West Point (Map, p. 138), the strongest place on the west bank of the Hudson, to be fortified, to prevent the enemy from going up to Albany. He then crossed to the west bank of the river, but could not hold his ground against Lord Cornwallis, and he lost both Fort Washington and Fort Lee (§ 170). He had left some of his best soldiers, under the command of General Charles Lee, on the east side of the Hudson. He now ordered Lee to join him, but that traitorous officer disobeyed him.¹

¹ General Charles Lee was born in England. He had been an officer in the British army, but had left that service, come to this country, and had obtained the rank of major general in the American army. He was in no way connected with the Lees of Virginia. While he was in command on the Hudson he was trying to prejudice Congress against Washington, in hope of getting his place. Later, he showed himself to be utterly unprincipled and treacherous (§ 182).

173. Washington retreats across the Delaware; General Lee captured. Washington with his small force now began to retreat across New Jersey toward Philadelphia. He broke down bridges after he had crossed them, destroyed the provisions Cornwallis hoped to get for his army, and so delayed the enemy that it took them nearly three weeks (November 19 to December 8) to march less than seventy miles across a level country.

Cornwallis and his "redcoats" followed the retreating Americans sometimes at a distance, then again close on their heels. There were times when the British would be entering a town just as our men were hurrying out of it.

Many patriots began to despair of success. How, they asked, can our fugitive army of only 3000 men, wretchedly armed, scantily clothed, and half fed hope to escape their pursuers? Under any other general they could not have escaped; but they had Washington for their leader, and Washington was the heart, strength, and soul of the Revolution.

Finding that he could not hold New Jersey, he was forced at last (December 8, 1776) to cross the Delaware at Trenton. The British would have pushed on after him; but the American general had seized every boat for nearly a hundred miles up and down the river. All that the British could do was to sit down on the bank and wait for the stream to freeze over.

Not long after Washington had reached Pennsylvania the false-hearted Lee (§ 172) crossed the Hudson and marched with 4000 men toward Morristown, New Jersey. While he was asleep in a tavern several miles from his men, a squad of British soldiers surprised and captured him. His army, thus fortunately rid of him, advanced and found an opportunity to join Washington.

174. The Victory of Trenton. On Christmas night (1776) Washington, with a force of less than 2500 men, recrossed the Delaware—then full of floating ice—and marched on Trenton in a furious snowstorm. There he surprised a body of Hessian (§ 166) soldiers and took 1000 prisoners and a large quantity of arms and ammunition.

All this he did with scarce the loss of a man. It was not only a bold stroke, but a great victory, because it had great results. Thousands of patriots had begun to despair; now their hearts leaped with joy. It was a Christmas long to be remembered.

175. What Robert Morris did for Washington. But it was near the end of the year; the time for which many of Washington's men had enlisted would be up in a few days, and he needed money to get them to reënlist. Congress had indeed tried hard to manufacture money. It had printed bills, called "continental currency," by the wagon load. But the poor soldiers, barefooted, half-starved, ragged, and miserable, did not want what Congress offered them. They had left wives and children at home who



ROBERT MORRIS COLLECTING
MONEY

were crying for bread, and the men wanted to send them something that would buy it. They knew by sad experience that a dollar bill issued by a government that had no silver or gold to make it good was worth just as much as any other dingy scrap of paper of the same size — and worth no more.

Washington sympathized with the men. He felt that on this occasion he must have money that had the genuine *ring* in it. He wrote to his friend Robert Morris, merchant and banker, of Philadelphia, begging him to send \$50,000 in hard cash. Morris set out on New Year's morning (1777) before it was light, went from house to house, roused his friends from their beds, and got the money. He sent it at once to Washington. It was as good as another victory. It saved the army.

176. Cornwallis outwitted; Victory of Princeton; Winter Quarters at Morristown; Coming of Lafayette, De Kalb, and Steuben. Cornwallis, leaving part of his force at Princeton, New Jersey, hurried south to catch Washington. He found him between Trenton and a bend of the Delaware. That night the British general

went to sleep, certain that Washington could not get away. For how could he hope to escape, with the British army in front and the broad, deep Delaware River full of floating ice behind him? Cornwallis told his brother officers that they would "bag the old fox" in the morning. While the English general lay dreaming, Washington like an "old fox" crept stealthily round him, and got to Princeton.

In the battle there (January 3, 1777), the American advance force was driven back. Just then Washington came up and saved the army from defeat. Then the American general with his little army made themselves snug and safe in the hills about Morristown, in northern New Jersey. There they spent the winter (1777-1778). (Map, p. 138.)

Cornwallis knew that he could not drive Washington out of his strong position without a desperate battle, so he hurried back to New Brunswick, New Jersey, for fear that the Americans would cut off his food supplies from New York City.

The next summer Lafayette, a French nobleman of nineteen, came from Paris to offer his services to Washington in behalf of American liberty. He became one of Washington's generals, and not only gave his services to the country, but equipped many of the men under his command with arms and clothing furnished at his own expense. Lafayette brought with him Baron de Kalb, a German military veteran, who also became a general in the United States army. Later, Baron Steuben, a Prussian military engineer, joined the Americans and made himself of the greatest use in drilling and disciplining our troops. Kosciusko and Pulaski, two eminent Polish patriots, joined our army at the same time.

177. Burgoyne's Expedition; Battle of Oriskany; Battle of Bennington. Meanwhile, the British made a new move. General Burgoyne (§ 163) marched down from Canada (1777) with 8000 men by way of Lake Champlain, and took Fort Ticonderoga (§ 162). He then pushed forward toward the Hudson, expecting to join a part of Howe's army there.

Another British expedition started from Oswego with a force of Iroquois Indians (§ 32) and Tories (§ 160) to unite with Burgoyne.

The three English armies expected to get control of all New York and the Hudson River, and so cut off New England — “the head of the rebellion” — from the other colonies. (Map, p. 138.)

The enemy coming from Oswego might have taken Fort Stanwix, later named Fort Schuyler, had not General Herkimer met them at Oriskany. In the battle Herkimer received his death wound; but the brave old man propped himself against a tree and kept up the fight until the British, Indians, and Tories fled.

All went well with Burgoyne until he struck into the wilderness south of Lake Champlain. There General Schuyler of Albany



GENERAL HERKIMER AT ORISKANY

broke down all the bridges, felled trees across the only road there was through the woods, and made Burgoyne's life miserable. Next the British general's horses and provisions gave out. He sent a thousand men to Bennington, Vermont, to get more. Colonel John Stark, one of the heroes of Bunker Hill (§ 38), started with a small

force to meet the enemy. Pointing to the “redcoats,” he said, “There they are, boys; we beat them to-day or Mollie Stark's a widow.” Mrs. Stark had no occasion to put on mourning; for her husband, with his men, whipped the British (August 16, 1777) so badly that less than a hundred out of the thousand ever got back to Burgoyne. Washington called the victory a “great stroke.” It was, indeed; for it prepared the way for Burgoyne's downfall.

178. Howe's Expedition to Pennsylvania; Battle of Brandywine; Philadelphia taken; Battle of Germantown. While these events were happening Howe started from New York (§ 170) to

march to Philadelphia. Washington had not men enough to meet the British general in open fight, but he so worried him and wasted his time that General Howe finally went back with his army to New York in disgust.

Howe then started to go to Philadelphia by sea. Finding the Delaware River fortified against him, he landed at the head of Chesapeake Bay and marched against the "Quaker City."

Washington met him at Brandywine Creek, and tried to check his advance; but Howe had a much stronger force, and the battle (September 11, 1777) delayed but did not stop the British. (Map, p. 138.) Two weeks later the enemy entered the city which was then the capital of the United States. Leaving a small force at Germantown, now a part of Philadelphia, Howe went down the Delaware to capture the forts and get possession of that river. While he was gone Washington attacked the British at Germantown, but was repulsed. He then fell back to the hills on the Schuylkill at Valley Forge, about twenty miles northwest of Philadelphia. (Map, p. 138.)

179. **The Turning Point in the Revolution; Battle of Saratoga, 1777; the Stars and Stripes; Help from France.** Meanwhile, great events had happened in the North. Burgoyne had fought two battles in the neighborhood of Saratoga, September 19 and October 7, 1777; he had been utterly defeated, and his entire army, numbering about 6000 men, captured. (Map, p. 138.) If to this number we add that of the prisoners taken by us before the surrender, and the loss of the enemy at Bennington (§ 177), it will give a total of nearly 10,000—or about one third the entire British force then in America. The captured army was marched off by the American officers triumphantly bearing the Stars and Stripes,¹ which had just been adopted as our national

¹ The first United States flag (adopted by Congress, June 14, 1777) having the stars and stripes was made, it is said, out of a soldier's white shirt, an old blue army overcoat, and a red flannel petticoat. It was hoisted by our army at Fort Stanwix (near Rome), New York, during Burgoyne's campaign in 1777. Paul Jones appears to have first raised this flag at sea (§ 183). The flag raised by Washington at Cambridge when he took command of the army was the English flag with thirteen red and white stripes added. In the flag adopted by Congress the stars represent all the states; the stripes, the first thirteen states. The stars and stripes on Washington's coat of arms may have suggested the flag.

flag. General Gates¹ got the credit of the victory; but Benedict Arnold (§ 164) and Daniel Morgan² with his sharpshooters were the men who really won it, partly by gallant fighting, partly by cutting off all supplies from the enemy, and at last by literally starving them into a surrender.

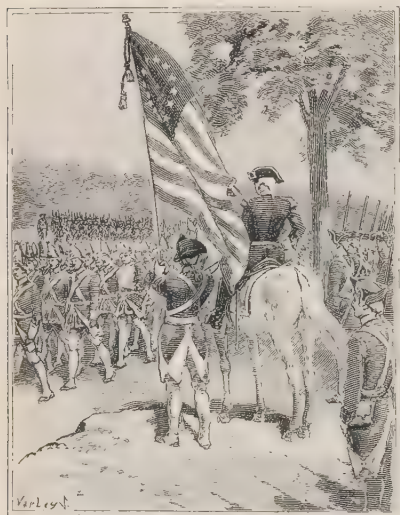
In the wars of over twenty centuries an eminent English writer finds only fifteen battles that have had a lasting influence on the world's history. The American victory at Saratoga, he says, was one of them.³ It had two immense results:

1. It completely broke up the English plans for the war.
2. It secured for us the aid of England's old and powerful enemy, France.

Some time after the victory Lafayette (§ 176) received letters from Paris. He was then at Valley Forge (§ 178). When he had read the letters he ran to Washington and cried out with tears of joy, "The King, my master, has acknowledged the independence of America, and will

sign a treaty to help you establish it." It was true. Men like to help those who show that they are trying their best to help themselves. We had shown it, and now the King of France held out his hand to us.

The next year (February 6, 1778) Benjamin Franklin, our minister at Paris, obtained the treaty or agreement by which the



VICTORY OF SARATOGA

¹ General Gates, like General Charles Lee (§ 172), was born in Great Britain and had served in the English army. He appears to have taken no direct part in these battles; in fact, he was not actually on the field in either.

² Daniel Morgan of Virginia. He commanded a force of five hundred picked riflemen — "sharpshooters" — with aim so accurate that it was humorously said that any one of them could toss up an apple and shoot all the seeds out of it as it fell. The enemy who had to face these riflemen never disputed the story.

³ "The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World," by Sir Edward S. Creasy.

French King pledged himself to send us men, ships, and money for the war. Franklin and Washington were the two great men who carried the war to final success: Washington by destroying enemies, Franklin by gaining friends; Washington by the sword, Franklin, like Morris (§ 175), with the purse.¹

180. Summary. The War of Independence began with the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776. In the first battle, that of Long Island, the Americans were defeated. Washington retreated across the Delaware, but returned and gained the brilliant victory of Trenton. Howe took Philadelphia; but shortly after, the Americans captured Burgoyne and his whole army at Saratoga; in consequence of that success France recognized the independence of America, and pledged herself to help us fight our battles by land and sea.

III. THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, FROM THE TREATY WITH FRANCE TO THE END OF THE WAR (1778-1783)

181. Washington at Valley Forge (1777-1778); Peace offered; Howe leaves Philadelphia. But though the great victory of Saratoga in the autumn of 1777 (§ 179) filled the land with joy, yet the winter which followed was a terrible one. While Howe and his officers were living luxuriously in Philadelphia (§ 178), Washington's men, "naked and starving," were dying of putrid fever on the frozen hillsides of Valley Forge (§ 178). They were dying, too, before the good news could reach them that the King of France had pledged his word to aid America in her great struggle (§ 179).

England was greatly alarmed at the action of France in taking our part. The next spring (1778) the British government offered peace, representation in Parliament — everything, in fact, but independence. But it was independence that we were

¹ Franklin lent all his ready money — about fifteen thousand dollars — to the country, to fight the battles of the Revolution, and lent it when everything looked against us. His influence got us a gift from France of nearly two million dollars and a loan of over three million more. Thus he used his own purse and the purse of the French King to help us.

fighting for, and we rejected the offer. Fear of the approaching French fleet now compelled the British¹ to abandon Philadelphia and start for New York.



VALLEY FORGE

General Charles Lee (§ 173), who unfortunately had come back to us, had done his duty. He acted like a lunatic or a traitor. Washington sternly rebuked him, and shortly after ordered him to withdraw from the battle and go to the rear. Lee was tried by court-martial for disobedience and misbehavior, and suspended from the army; later, Congress dismissed him in disgrace, and in disgrace he died.

The British forces now returned to New York and vicinity. Washington, with his army stretched out from Morristown, New Jersey, to West Point on the Hudson, watched them day and night. (Map, p. 138.)

¹ General Howe resigned in the winter of 1777-1778. His brother, Lord Howe, resigned the next summer (1778). Sir Henry Clinton succeeded General Howe in command of the army (May, 1779), and Admiral Byron succeeded Lord Howe in command of the British fleet.

182. Battle of Monmouth; Lee's Disgrace; Indian Massacres; Clark's Victories in the West. About 15,000 of the English forces started to go across New Jersey. Now was Washington's opportunity. With about the same number he followed them up sharply. A battle was fought at Monmouth (Map, p. 138) (June 28, 1778), which we barely won. It was the last battle of note fought on northern soil. It would have ended in a brilliant victory for our side, if



CLARK'S LINE OF MARCH FROM THE OHIO RIVER TO FORTS KASKASKIA AND VINCENNES

In the summer and autumn bands of ferocious Iroquois (§ 32) led by Tory (§§ 160, 165) captains committed horrible massacres at Wyoming, Pennsylvania, and Cherry Valley, New York.

In the West, Captain George Rogers Clark of Virginia accomplished wonders. He and his little band of stalwart backwoodsmen set out to capture the enemy's forts (1778-1779). They endured terrible hardships and sufferings in crossing the "Drowned Lands" where the Wabash River, in Indiana, had overflowed the country. Often they had to push forward for miles through ice-cold water waist-deep. But neither hunger, cold, nor exhaustion could force them to turn back. They literally waded to victory. Finally, they drove the British out of Illinois and later from Indiana, thus securing that immense region to the United States. It began to look as though the King of England was losing his grip on America.



WADING TO VICTORY

183. The British attack the South; Savannah taken; Wayne's Victory; Paul Jones. The enemy now (1778) transferred the war to the South. Their plan was to begin at Georgia and conquer northward. Then, in case the English government was forced to make peace, it hoped to be able to keep the southern territory. King George was prudent: "Half a loaf," said he to himself, "is better than none." The last of the year (December 29, 1778) an expedition attacked Savannah. The British had three men to our one; they took the city.

The British had got possession of the fort at Stony Point (Map, p. 138) in the Highlands of the Hudson. So long as they held it, our men could not cross the river at King's Ferry—then the principal crossing place between New England and

the southern states. "Mad Anthony Wayne,"¹ under Washington's direction, stormed and took the fort (July 15, 1779), at midnight, at the point of the bayonet—never firing a shot during the battle. The capture of the fort stopped the British plans for ravaging Connecticut. They found that they must use all their forces to hold the Hudson.

The next autumn brought glorious news. Captain Paul Jones,² the first man to hoist the Stars and Stripes (§ 179) over an American war ship, had, with the help of Benjamin Franklin (§ 135), fitted out three or four vessels in our defense. With three of these vessels, one of which was a half-rotten old hulk, he boldly attacked and captured two British men-of-war. The fight took place off Flamborough Head on the east coast of England. (Map, p. 67.)

After that most humiliating defeat England still boasted that she was "mistress of the seas," but the boast was in a lower tone; if Paul Jones had only had a few more ships, he would have made the tone a whisper.

184. The British take Charleston; Marion and Sumter's Mode of Fighting. In the spring (1780) the war in the South was renewed with vigor. The British took Charleston (May 12, 1780), and Lord Cornwallis (§ 171) held the city. But Marion (§ 115) and Sumter, with their bands of resolute men armed with a few guns, and weapons made of old scythes and saw blades, did good service in the American cause. When the British forces went out to conquer the country, the Carolina patriots attacked them just as two kingbirds attack a hawk. The kingbirds are not nearly as big and strong as the hawk, but they are far quicker. They strike him from opposite sides. They easily dodge his blows, but he cannot avoid theirs. So they worry and torment the hawk until they tire him out, and he is glad to fly in any direction to get away from them.

¹ General Anthony Wayne of Pennsylvania. He was called "Mad Anthony Wayne" on account of his daring. The British thought that the Americans could not use the bayonet; Wayne showed them their mistake.

² Paul Jones was by birth a Scotchman. He entered the American service in 1775. His name was originally John Paul.



185. Loss of Camden; Brilliant Victory of King's Mountain.

The British had a small force at Camden (Map, p. 164), South Carolina—a great center for roads, and hence of much importance from a military point of view. General Gates (§ 179) with General De Kalb (§ 176) resolved to attempt the capture of the place before Cornwallis could arrive there, but Cornwallis reached Camden first. A battle was fought (August 16, 1780) in which Gates was compelled to retreat, losing artillery and baggage, and narrowly escaping capture himself.

But while Cornwallis was chuckling over his victory, the backwoodsmen of this part of the country, sharpshooters, every man, attacked a British force at King's Mountain (October 7, 1780), on the borders of North and South Carolina, and in a terrible battle completely defeated the enemy. (Map, p. 164.)

186. Arnold's Treason; the Dreadful Winter at Morristown.

Meanwhile (September 22, 1780), the most startling and the saddest event of the Revolution occurred. Benedict Arnold (§§ 164, 179), Washington's trusted friend, commander at West Point, had turned traitor. The discovery was made through the arrest of André, a British spy by whom Arnold attempted to send a plan of the fort to the British commander at New York. André was tried and hanged, but Arnold escaped to the British army. Later, the traitor led an attack on Richmond, Virginia, and burnt it, and, last of all, one on New London in his native state of Connecticut.

Arnold died in London twenty years later. It is said that the last request he made was that the epaulettes and sword knot which Washington had given him might be brought. "Let me die," said he, "in my old American uniform, in which I fought my battles. God forgive me for ever having put on any other!"

The gloom of Arnold's awful act of treason was felt in the American camp at Morristown (§ 182) in the dreadful winter (1780-1781) which followed. In some respects it was worse than that at Valley Forge (§ 181); and the men, unpaid, half fed, freezing, were driven to desperation and partial revolt.

187. Greene's Campaign in the South (1781); the Incident at the Tavern; Cornwallis leaves the Carolinas. But it was the gloom that precedes the dawn. General Nathanael Greene of Rhode Island had been placed in command at the South. Next to Washington he was by far the ablest soldier in the Revolution. With a little force that seemed, as he said, but "the shadow of an army," he accomplished wonders.

Early in the year (January 17, 1781) a part of Greene's men, led by Morgan (§ 179), gained the battle of Cowpens, South Carolina. (Map, p. 164.) Then Greene, who was master of the game

he was now playing, retreated toward Virginia, thus drawing Cornwallis, who followed him, further and further away from his supplies at Charleston. But the American general had many anxious days during this retreat, and often the chances of success seemed wholly against him.

On one such occasion he reached Steele's tavern at Salisbury after midnight, wet to the skin with the heavy rain that had fallen all day. Steele looked at him in astonishment and asked if he was alone.

"Yes," answered the general, "tired, hungry, alone, and penniless." Mrs. Steele heard his reply; she made haste and set a smoking hot breakfast before the weary, despondent soldier. Then she carefully shut the door, and drawing two bags of silver from under her apron, she held them out to her guest.

"Take these," said she; "you need them and I can do without them."

It was such noble-hearted women as Mrs. Elizabeth Steele who helped our men to keep up heart to the end. The honor shall be theirs so long as history lasts.



MRS. STEELE AND GENERAL
GREENE

At Guilford Court House (now Greensborough), North Carolina, Cornwallis defeated the Americans (March 15, 1781), but he himself lost so heavily that he could not hold his ground and had to retreat to Wilmington, North Carolina. He arrived there (April 7, 1781) in miserable plight, having lost about half of his small army by battle, sickness, or desertion. On reaching Wilmington, Cornwallis heard that Greene had turned back to attack the English force under Lord Rawdon left at Camden, South Carolina. Cornwallis was in no condition to wheel about and follow Greene. He finally decided to march northward to Petersburg, Virginia. (Map, p. 164.) There he hoped to get more troops from New York; then, having conquered Virginia, he would go back and reconquer the Carolinas.

188. Greene's Campaign in South Carolina. Cornwallis started on his long march of 200 miles. Meanwhile, Greene, aided by Marion, Sumter (§ 184), and Pickens, had driven the British from Camden (May 10, 1781). Through the summer he struck the enemy blow after blow, and ended by gaining what was practically a victory, at Eutaw Springs, South Carolina (September 8, 1781). After that the British — what there was left of them — fled to Charleston, shut themselves up there, and did not venture out. Greene had in fact won back the Carolinas; and he had won them, thanks to the help given by Marion, Sumter, and Pickens, with an army which did not number more than about 2000 men. To accomplish much with small means is a sure sign of greatness. Greene had done this, and Washington was the man who taught him.

189. The Crowning Victory of the War, 1781. Cornwallis reached Virginia, and after vainly pursuing Lafayette (§§ 176, 179) and destroying millions of dollars' worth of property he entered Yorktown, on a narrow peninsula at the mouth of the York River. He went there not because he wanted to, but because he must. Cornwallis had been chasing Lafayette; he boastingly said, "The boy cannot escape me." But "the boy," Lafayette, with a larger army, had turned round and begun chasing him. Cornwallis moved to Yorktown (July 30, 1781) to get

help by sea from New York. There the British general fortified himself. He did not know it, but he was building his own prison — one that he would never get out of except by surrender.

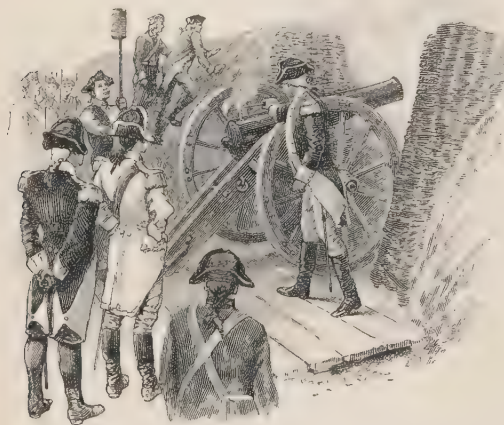
While he was waiting for soldiers to arrive from New York a French fleet of war ships (§ 179) was coming to block him in. Now was Washington's chance to strike a tremendous blow. His plan was to march rapidly south from the Hudson to Yorktown, and, with the help of the French fleet and French troops and of Lafayette and his army, to capture Cornwallis with his

whole force. Such a move required a large amount of money to pay the men and buy provisions. Robert Morris (§ 175) again came to the rescue and is said to have furnished nearly a million and a half of dollars for the good work.

Clinton (§ 171), at the head of the British force in New York, thought Washington was getting

ready to attack him. Washington encouraged him to think so. Even Washington's own army supposed that was his intention. When he was ready, Washington suddenly broke camp and marched his entire force with all possible speed across the country to the head of Chesapeake Bay and thence (by vessels) to Yorktown. (Map, p. 164.)

Cornwallis looked over the walls of his fortified town. He saw the French fleet on one side, and the American army 9000 strong, with the French army 7000 strong, massed together against him on the other side. He held out manfully for more



WASHINGTON FIRING THE FIRST GUN AT YORKTOWN

than a week against solid shot, shell, and red-hot balls. Then, seeing that it was useless to struggle against fate, he surrendered. His army marched out October 19, 1781, to the tune of "The World's Upside Down." It was true; the British world in America was "upside down," and the fall of Yorktown practically ended the War of the Revolution. After more than six weary years of fighting Washington had conquered. It was "the victory of a great and good man in a great and good cause."

When the news reached London and was announced to Lord North, then the Prime Minister and the King's chief adviser, he threw up his arms as though a cannon ball had struck him, cried out wildly, "It is all over!" and then resigned his office.

190. Summary of the Revolution. The King of England insisted on taxing the American colonies without their consent. The Americans refused to pay, and took



"THE WORLD'S UPSIDE DOWN"

up arms in defense of their rights as loyal English subjects. The King and his party endeavored to put down the rebellion, and on July 4, 1776, the colonists declared themselves independent of Great Britain.

The War for Independence then began. At Saratoga, in 1777, the Americans gained a great victory over Burgoyne. In consequence of that victory the King of France acknowledged the independence of the United States, and sent money, ships, and men to fight in our behalf.

In 1781 Washington, with the help of French troops and of French ships of war, defeated Cornwallis at Yorktown, and took

him prisoner with all his army. That decisive victory practically ended the Revolution, and forced England to give up the contest.

191. George III's speech on the United States; England makes a Treaty of Peace with us, 1783; the King's Meeting with John Adams. At the opening of Parliament (1782), the King, in a voice choked with emotion, announced that he was ready to acknowledge the independence of the United States. He closed his speech by saying that it was his earnest prayer that "religion, language, interest, and affection might prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries."

A final treaty of peace between Great Britain and this country was signed at Paris in 1783. It secured to us the thirteen states, with Maine, and the territory west of them to the Mississippi. (Map, p. 170.) Our first minister to England was John Adams of Massachusetts. The King said to him: "Sir, I will be very free with you. I was the last to consent to the separation, but the separation having been made . . . I have always said, as I say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power."

192. The American States Independent but not really United; Congress destitute of Power; the Articles of Confederation. But though America had won her independence, she had not secured harmony and union. While the war lasted the states fought like brothers, side by side; now that the danger was over they threatened to fall apart. We were like a barrel made of thirteen stout staves, but without a single strong hoop to hold us together. When Congress made the Declaration of Independence (§ 167), it also framed the first national constitution called the Articles of Confederation (§ 162). But the states did not adopt that constitution until five years later, 1781.

Under the Articles of Confederation the government accomplished two great pieces of work:

1. It made peace with Great Britain, 1783 (§ 191).
2. It adopted the famous Ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory, 1787 (§ 195).



But, generally speaking, the Articles proved to be very unsatisfactory. Under them the nation could do but little because

1. It had no President — no head.

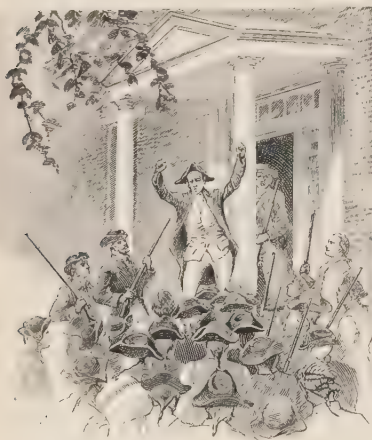
2. It had a Congress, but that Congress was destitute of power. It might pass good and useful laws, but it could not compel the people to obey them. It might beg the people to give money, but it could not make them furnish it. It might ask for soldiers to defend the country, but it could not force them to serve.

193. Distressed Condition of the Country; Jealousy of the States; Lack of Freedom of Trade. The truth is, that the people had come out of the war in a distressed condition. They were heavily in debt. Business was at a standstill. Gold and silver coin was scarce. The states had an abundance of paper stuff which pretended to be money, but nobody knew what it was worth, and what passed for a dollar in one state might not pass at all in another. The distress and discontent grew worse and worse. The states quarreled with each other about boundary lines, about commerce, about trade. Instead of being a united and friendly people, they were fast getting to be thirteen hostile nations ready to draw the sword against each other.

This feeling was shown in the fact that a man could not buy and sell freely outside of his own state. If, for instance, a farmer in New Jersey took a load of potatoes to New York, he might have to pay a tax of five or ten cents a bushel to that state before he could offer them for sale. On the other hand, if a New York merchant sent a case of boots to New Jersey to sell to the farmers, that state might, if it chose, tax him ten cents a pair before he could get a permit to dispose of his goods.

194. "Shays' Rebellion" (1786-1787). The people of Massachusetts were perhaps more heavily loaded with debt than those of any other state. It is said that the heads of families owed about two hundred dollars apiece. They were willing to pay, but could get nothing to pay with. When great numbers of poor people were sued and thrown into prison, multitudes became desperate. In the western part of the state Daniel Shays raised an army of

nearly two thousand excited farmers (1786). They surrounded the courthouses at Worcester and Springfield, and put a stop to all lawsuits for debt. It was not until a strong military force was sent out against them that the "rebellion" was finally quelled, and Shays compelled to fly to New Hampshire.



"SHAYS' REBELLION"

195. How the Northwest Territory helped keep the Union together. The most powerful influence which kept the nation from dropping to pieces was the fact that the states had an interest in the Northwest Territory. (Map, opposite.) Up to the middle of the Revolution seven of the thirteen states claimed the country west of them as far as the Mississippi River.

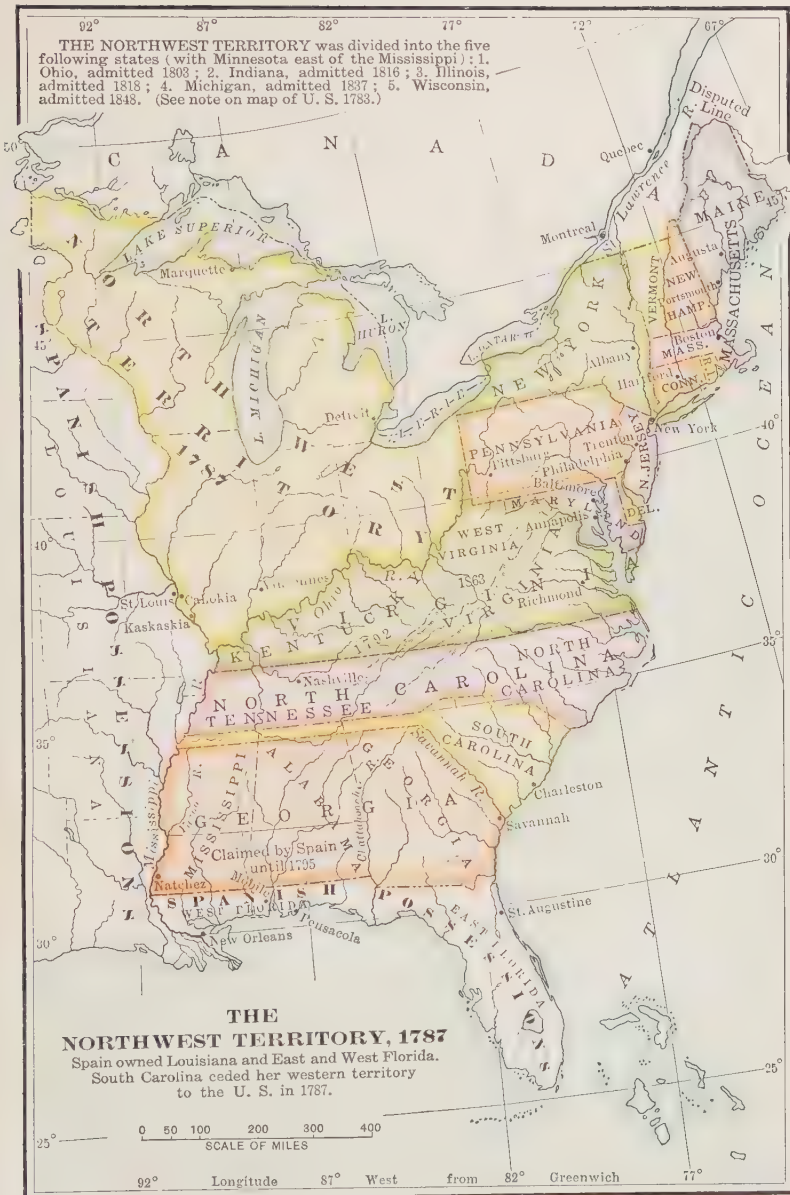
Four of these states — Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut — claimed land northwest of the Ohio River to the Mississippi. They finally agreed (1781-1786) to give it to the United States to be disposed of for the common good.

In 1787 Congress made the celebrated Ordinance or body of laws for the government of this Northwest Territory. That Ordinance had four very important provisions :

1. It forbade the holding of slaves in the territory (though it made provision for returning fugitive slaves who should escape to that region).
2. It granted entire religious freedom to every settler.
3. It encouraged "schools and the means of education."
4. It provided that the new territory should be cut up into states, equal in standing with the original thirteen.

People believed that Congress would be able to sell farming lands in that vast region, — now forming the great and

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY was divided into the five following states (with Minnesota east of the Mississippi): 1. Ohio, admitted 1803; 2. Indiana, admitted 1816; 3. Illinois, admitted 1818; 4. Michigan, admitted 1837; 5. Wisconsin, admitted 1848. (See note on map of U. S. 1783.)



THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY, 1787

Spain owned Louisiana and East and West Florida.
South Carolina ceded her western territory to the U. S. in 1787.

0 50 100 200 300 400
SCALE OF MILES

92° Longitude 87° West from 82° Greenwich 77°

prosperous states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and eastern Minnesota,—and thus get money to pay off the war debt of the Revolution. That belief helped to hold the country together.

196. The Articles of Confederation are set aside and a New Constitution adopted, 1787. Still, even with this hope to brighten the sky, the outlook was dark enough. Washington, Franklin, Madison, Hamilton,—in a word, the ablest men of that day,—thought the prospect anything but encouraging. It seemed to them that unless we secured a better form of government than that which the defective Articles of Confederation provided (§ 192) the newborn republic was likely to die in its cradle.

At last (1787) a convention of fifty-five members was held in Philadelphia to make a new Constitution. Washington presided over this convention, and a majority of the state legislatures sent their chief men to take part in it. The convention held a secret session of nearly four months, and had many stormy debates before the articles of the new Constitution could be agreed upon. At one time Benjamin Franklin (§§ 135, 152, 157, 163, 183) and other eminent men nearly despaired of any successful result. But by three judicious compromises¹ the great work was finally

¹ The *first* important question of debate was between the delegates from the small states and those from the large ones in regard to representation in Congress. If the representation rested wholly on population, then the large states would, of course, have entire control.

This question was settled by a compromise or mutual concession by which it was finally agreed that Congress should consist of two houses: (1) the House of Representatives chosen by the people of the different states and representing them; (2) the Senate, or Upper House, consisting of two members from each state. (See the Constitution, in the Appendix, Article I, Sections 2 and 3.) In the Senate the small states stand equal to the large ones.

The *second* great question was whether slaves should be counted in reckoning the number of the population with reference to representation in Congress. The North insisted that they should not; the South (where slaves were very numerous), that they should. The contest on this point was long and bitter. Finally, it was agreed that three fifths of the slaves should be counted with reference to both representation and taxation (though the slaves themselves were of course neither represented nor taxed). (See the Constitution, Article I, Section 2, Paragraph 3, "*Three fifths of all other persons.*" These "other persons" were slaves.)

The *third* and last question was in regard to commerce and to protection of slaveholders. It was agreed that Congress should have the entire control of commerce (the states had had it before). (See the Constitution, Article I, Section 8, Paragraph 3.) Furthermore, it was agreed that the importation of slaves might be prohibited after 1808. (See the Constitution, Article I, Section 9, Paragraph 1; these slaves are called "*such persons.*" The word "slave"

completed. The opening lines of the Constitution show first, who made it, and secondly, why they made it. It begins with these ever-memorable words :

We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union,

After the convention had accepted the new Constitution, it was sent to the different states to be voted upon by the people. Those who favored it called themselves Federalists, while those who opposed it, because they thought it gave the national government too much power, called themselves Anti-Federalists.



THE "SHIP OF STATE"

But in time all of the states decided to adopt it. The man who did the most to convince them of the wisdom of such a course

does not occur in the Constitution. It was also agreed that runaway slaves should be returned to their owners. (See the Constitution, Article IV, Section 2, Paragraph 3, "*No person [i.e. slave] held to service,*" etc.) The first Fugitive-Slave Law was passed in 1793.

If the compromises between the small states and the large, and the North and South, had not been made, the Constitution would have been rejected, and we should probably have split up into two or three hostile republics ; even after its adoption it took the better part of a year to get the states to ratify it.

was Alexander Hamilton¹ of New York. When the city of New York celebrated the adoption of the Constitution (1788) a ship on wheels representing the "Ship of State," or the Union,² was drawn through the streets by ten milk-white horses. Hamilton's name was painted in large letters on the platform upholding the vessel.

197. What the New Constitution did for the Country. The Constitution went into effect in 1789. It accomplished six great objects, not one of which was provided for in the old Articles of Confederation (§ 192).

1. It gave the nation a head, the President of the United States, and made it his duty to see that the laws made by Congress should be faithfully enforced.

2. It gave Congress full power to raise money by taxation to carry on and defend the national government.

3. It gave every citizen of the United States equal rights in all the states, with liberty to buy and sell in all parts of the country. This secured freedom of trade throughout the Union.

4. It gave Congress the control of all foreign commerce, and the sole right to levy duties or taxes on imported goods.

5. It gave Congress the entire control of all the territory and public lands of the nation.

6. It established the Supreme Court of the United States with full authority to decide all questions and disputes in regard to the powers of the national government.

¹ Alexander Hamilton was born in the West Indies, 1757. He went to New York in 1772 and entered Columbia College. He took part in the Revolution and gained the friendship and esteem of Washington. After the Revolution he earnestly advocated the forming and adoption of the Federal Constitution. As Secretary of the Treasury of the United States he put the nation on a permanent financial basis. Many good judges consider him the ablest man who ever occupied that office. He restored public confidence and helped to establish trade and industry by his successful advocacy of the first tariff and the first United States Bank. Daniel Webster said of him: "He smote the rock of the national resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of Public Credit and it sprung upon its feet." Hamilton was killed by Aaron Burr (§ 219) in a duel in 1804. The whole country felt the irreparable loss of this great statesman and patriot.

² See Longfellow's "Building of the Ship," last part, lines beginning

"Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!"

A few years later ten very important amendments were added to the Constitution.¹ They were called a "Bill of Rights." They secured still further protection to the rights and liberties of the people. For this reason many of the Anti-Federalists (§ 196) who had strongly opposed the original Constitution now gave it their hearty support.

198. Summary. The Revolution made us an independent people; the Constitution completed the work by making us a united people, – a true American nation. Now, to use the words of John Adams, "the thirteen clocks all struck together."

¹ See Appendix, Amendments to the Constitution. Two more amendments were adopted between 1798 and 1804, the Eleventh and Twelfth, the first of which exempted a state from suit "by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state," and the second changed the method of electing the President of the United States. After the beginning of the Civil War the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments were adopted relating to the emancipated slaves and to the reconstruction of the seceded states.

V

"This government, the offspring of your own choice, . . . adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, . . . and containing, within itself, a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and respect." — PRESIDENT WASHINGTON'S *Farewell Address to the People of the United States*, September 17, 1796.

THE UNION — NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT¹

(1789–1861)

THE FEDERALIST PARTY IN POWER

GEORGE WASHINGTON (FEDERALIST)

199. Washington elected President (Two Terms, 1789–1797); his Inauguration. We have seen (§ 196) that the Federalists and Anti-Federalists held opposite views about the Constitution. But both agreed that Washington should be placed at the head of the new government. They accordingly united and unanimously elected him the first President of the United States (1789–1793), and when his term of office expired he was re-elected (1793–1797). In both cases John Adams was chosen Vice President. New York City was then the capital of the country, but Philadelphia was made so a little later (1790), and ten years afterward the city of Washington became so permanently (1800). Washington was to be inaugurated on March 4 (1789), the day the new Constitution went into operation; but the ceremony was delayed until April 30. The President took his

¹ **Reference Books** (Washington to John Adams, inclusive). A. B. Hart's "Formation of the Union," ch. 7–8; W. C. Bryant and Gay's "United States" (revised edition), IV, ch. 5–6; J. S. Bassett's "The Federalist System"; A. B. Hart's "American History by Contemporaries," III, ch. 12–15; A. B. Hart's "Source Book," ch. 11; J. Schouler's "United States," I, 74–500; J. B. McMaster's "United States," I, 540–604; II, 25–533; F. A. Walker's "Making of the Nation," ch. 5–8. See also the classified List of Books in the Appendix.

stand on the balcony of the old Federal Hall in Wall Street where Congress met.

The Chancellor of the state of New York then stepped forward and read to him the following oath of office required by the Constitution.

*"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."*¹



PRESIDENT WASHINGTON

Laying his hand on an open Bible, Washington replied, "I swear — so help me God!" Then amidst ringing of bells and firing of cannon, a great shout went up from the multitude of people in the street: "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!"

200. Washington's Cabinet; how the Government raised Money. Washing-

ton chose four eminent men, as members of his cabinet or private council, to aid him in the discharge of his presidential duties. For Secretary of State, to deal with the foreign affairs of the nation, he selected Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence; for Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton (§ 196); for Secretary of War, General Henry Knox; for Attorney-General, Edmund Randolph.

Washington next appointed John Jay² to the very important office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United

¹ See Appendix, The Constitution, Article II, Section 1, Paragraph 8.

² John Jay of New York was one of the signers of the treaty of peace with Great Britain (1783).

States. These men did not all agree with Washington in political matters ; but they all revered him, and they were ready, like him, to do their utmost to promote the welfare and prosperity of the country.

The new government began its great work with an empty treasury ; but a government can no more hope to live and pay its bills without money than you or I can. In order to obtain funds, Congress passed the first Tariff Act (1789). It imposed a moderate duty or tax on many foreign goods entering our ports.

Another act levied a tonnage tax on foreign merchant ships coming to the United States. For instance, if a French vessel of six hundred tons loaded with wine came into New York, the owners would have to pay a duty of fifty cents a ton — or three hundred dollars on the vessel, and eighteen cents a gallon on the wine. Other articles, such as tea, silk, and sugar, were charged different rates.

201. Paying Our Just Debts. Hamilton, who was Secretary of the Treasury (§ 200), got permission from Congress (1790) to use all the money obtained by the Tariff and Tonnage Acts, not needed for the expenses of the government, to do three things :

1. To pay back to France and to other countries what we had borrowed of them during the Revolution.

2. To pay the debts we owed at home to our soldiers, and to those who had lent money to the government during the war.

3. To pay the debts which the different states were owing to their own citizens for expenses which they had incurred in fighting the battles of the Revolution.

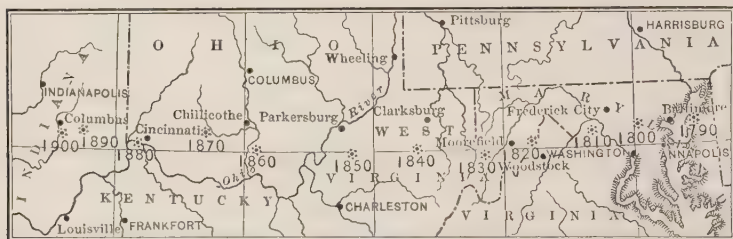
Hamilton's wise and honest dealing put the credit of the United States on a sure foundation ; it enabled us to pay debts amounting to nearly \$6,000,000, and to provide for the payment of many millions more. From that day to this, we have always been able to borrow all the money we wanted.

202. The First Census; the First United States Bank; the Mint. Meanwhile (1790), the first census was taken. It was a work of great importance, since it determined the "Federal Ratio" or number of representatives that could be elected to sit in Congress.

The ratio was fixed at 1 in every 30,000. It is now 1 in over 193,000. (See Appendix, Table of Representation.)

The census showed that we had a population of nearly 4,000,000. It also showed that nearly the whole body of people lived along the Atlantic seacoast, on a strip of country about two hundred and fifty miles wide. Since then the population has doubled, on the average, every twenty-five years, and has moved steadily westward.

Next Hamilton (§ 201) persuaded Congress to establish the first Bank of the United States at Philadelphia (1791). Congress also established the first United States mint at the same place



MOVEMENT WESTWARD OF THE CENTER OF POPULATION FROM
1790 TO 1900

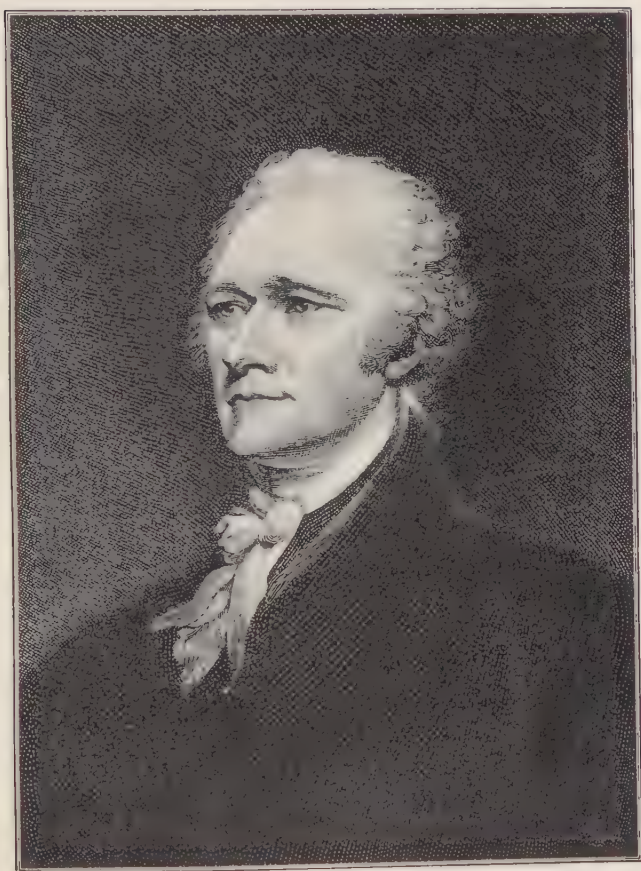
In 1790 the center of population (that is, the geographical point where the population is equal in number in all directions) was about twenty-five miles east of Baltimore.

It has since moved westward, on nearly the same parallel, at the rate of about fifty miles every ten years. (The centers of population are shown by stars.)

(1792). The Bank supplied the country with paper money, which could be used throughout the states. This was an immense help to all business men.

With the opening of the mint we began our decimal system of coinage, — ten cents make a dime, ten dimes a dollar; no system could be simpler or more convenient.

203. The Rise of Political Parties; Arrival of "Citizen" Genêt; Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality. The discussion in Congress over the question of establishing the Bank of the United States (§ 202) gave rise to the first two regularly organized political parties — the Federalist and the Republican.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON

The members of the last-named party later called themselves Democratic-Republicans, but finally took the name Democrats, which name they still retain. (The Republican party of the present day did not come into existence until nearly sixty years after the death of Washington.) Alexander Hamilton led the Federalist party and Thomas Jefferson the Republican or, as we should say, the Democratic party.

The Federalists believed in establishing a powerful national government, in order to keep the new-formed Union together. They thought that the proposed Bank of the United States would help this.

The Republicans believed that the liberty of the people could best be preserved by strengthening the state governments. They feared that the national government, advocated by the Federalists, might lead to a monarchy. For this reason they strenuously, but vainly, opposed the establishing of the Bank of the United States.

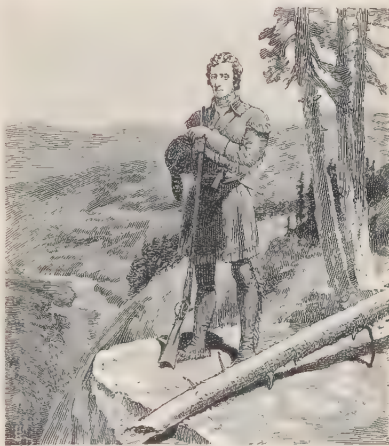
During Washington's second presidency (1793-1797) France was engaged in a terrible revolution. The people had declared themselves a republic and beheaded their King. This led to a war between France and England. The French sent a minister to this country (1793) to get help to fight the English. He was styled "Citizen" Genêt, for, having abolished all titles of honor and respect, the French could not endure even so simple a title as Mr. He came here expecting to obtain ships, money, and aid from the government. Thousands of our people welcomed him with wild enthusiasm. But Washington feared that if "Citizen" Genêt had his own way he would speedily drag the country into a new war with England.

The President therefore issued a proclamation of neutrality (1793), stating that we should take no part in European quarrels. This proclamation so maddened the excitable Genêt that he endeavored to stir up a mob in Philadelphia, to pull Washington from his seat of office, and overturn the government of the United States. The result was that, at Washington's protest, France recalled her minister, and nothing more was heard of him.

204. Emigration to the West; Cincinnati. Meanwhile, a great movement of population had begun toward the country west of the Alleghenies, — that section in which Washington had so deep an interest (§ 138). Sevier, Robertson, and other pioneers from the Carolinas had built cabins in the Tennessee country; and Daniel Boone, the famous hunter from the same region, followed by his bold companions, had chopped a narrow path across the wilderness to Kentucky; by the beginning of the Revolution the Americans had got a firm foothold in that fertile region.

Emigrants crossed the mountains and formed settlements on the rich lands of the Ohio Valley. Marietta, on that river, was already established (1788). A cluster of log huts, which had been built further down the river in the same year, now (1790) received the name of Cincinnati.¹ There, not long after (1793), the first western newspaper — the *Sentinel of the Northwest* — was published, and the corner stone laid of the state of Ohio, the first of all that magnificent group of states formed from the Northwest Territory (§ 195), which were one by one (1803–1848) to knock at the doors of Congress and gain admission to the Union.

These settlements were made at heavy cost of life. The Indians rose, resolved to kill or drive out the invaders. After four years of fighting the savages were defeated in a final battle. General Wayne (§ 183) — “the chief that never slept” — forced them to sign a treaty of peace (1795) by which they gave up the greater part of the Ohio country to the whites.



BOONE'S WILDERNESS ROAD

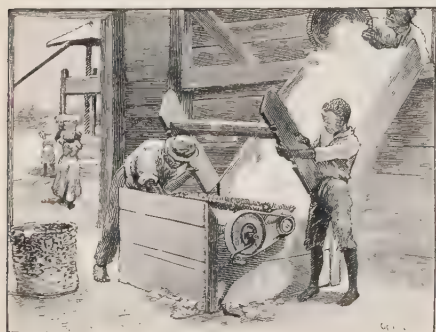
¹ The city was named in honor of the Society of the Cincinnati (a name derived from Cincinnatus, a noted Roman patriot). The society was organized by the officers of the Revolutionary army, headed by Washington.

205. The Manufacture of Cotton; Whitney invents the Cotton Gin, 1793; Results. The year (1793) that the printing press in that enterprising log city of Cincinnati began sending out its weekly budget of news (§ 204) a great event occurred among the cotton planters at the South.

Before Washington became President attempts had been made to establish the manufacture of cotton, by hand, in the United States. Moses Brown, a Providence Quaker, wrote to Samuel Slater in England, urging him to emigrate to this country and set up a cotton-spinning mill here. He said to him, "If thou canst do this thing, I invite thee to come to Rhode Island and have the credit of introducing cotton manufacture (by water power) in

America." Mr. Slater was just the man who could "do this thing," and he did it at Pawtucket, Rhode Island (1790).

Yet the manufacture of cotton did not grow rapidly because the southern states had not then found any quick method of freeing the common cotton fiber from the multitude of seeds it



THE COTTON GIN

contains. By working a whole day a negro could only clean about a pound. This made raw cotton expensive.

In 1793 Eli Whitney, a Massachusetts teacher, then living in Georgia, invented a machine which he called the "cotton gin." By using this new machine a negro could easily clean at least 300 pounds of cotton a day.

This changed the whole question of cotton production and cotton manufacture in this country. The result was soon seen. In 1784 we had exported 8 bags, or about 3000 pounds, of cotton to Liverpool. It was seized by the English customhouse officers, on the ground that the United States could not have produced such a "prodigious quantity," and that the captain of the vessel

must have smuggled it from some other country. Ten years after Whitney had put his machine into operation (1803) we were exporting over 100,000 bags of cotton, or more than 40,000,000 pounds, and every year saw an enormous increase. The effect of Whitney's invention was equally marked here. Up to this time, and much later, the cotton yarn spun in our mills was all woven into cloth by hand in private houses. But Francis C. Lowell of Massachusetts determined to establish a cotton factory on a large scale, which could produce cloth like that made in England. He constructed the first loom operated by water power in America. He then built the first cotton mill in the world at Waltham, Massachusetts, in which the raw material, just as it came from Whitney's cotton gin, was spun into thread, woven into cloth, and printed in colors all under one roof (1814). Later, the great cotton-manufacturing city of Lowell was named in his honor.

Before this, many men in both sections of the country had deplored the holding of slaves. They had earnestly discussed how to rid the country of what was felt to be both an evil in itself and a danger to the nation. The invention of the cotton gin put a stop to this discussion in great measure; for now the Southern planters and the Northern manufacturers of cotton both found it to their interest to keep the negro in bondage, since by his labor they were rapidly growing rich.

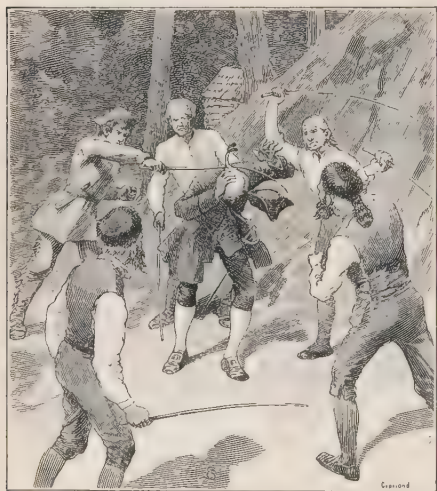
To sum up: Whitney's great invention of 1793 did four things:

1. It stimulated the production of cotton and made it one of the leading industries of the country.
2. It increased our cotton exports enormously.
3. It caused the building of great numbers of cotton mills at the North.
4. It made a large class, both North and South, interested in maintaining slave labor.¹

¹ Whitney received \$50,000 for his invention from South Carolina, besides something from several other southern states. Other notable American inventors of this period were: (1) Oliver Evans of Newport, Delaware, who, about 1780, invented the grain elevator, and made such improvements in milling that he "effected a revolution in the manufacture of flour." In 1803 he constructed the first steam dredge for deepening the channels of rivers. (2) Jacob Perkins of Newburyport, Massachusetts, invented (1790) the first practical nail machine; it was capable of cutting out two hundred thousand nails a day. Formerly, all nails

206. The Whisky Rebellion; Treaty with Spain. During Washington's second term of office, the government, finding that it needed more money, imposed (1794) a heavy duty or tax on the manufacture of whisky. The whisky producers in western Pennsylvania refused to pay the duty, tarred and feathered one officer sent to collect it, and flogged a second one with beech rods. Next, they took up arms to resist the law.

Washington sent an army of 15,000 men, mostly Pennsylvanians, to teach them how to behave. When the whisky distillers and their



THE WHISKY REBELLION. BEECH RODS

friends caught sight of the muskets, they prudently dispersed. They saw that if any shooting was to be done, the President could do a good deal more than they could.

The following year (1795) the United States made a very important treaty with Spain. It secured the right to the southwestern states to send their corn and pork to the Spanish port of New Orleans and ship it abroad. The treaty also recognized the right of the

United States to territory west of Georgia, which Spain had claimed as part of her possessions. (Map, p. 172.)

207. Jay's Treaty with England (1795). The treaty of peace with Great Britain, made in 1783 (§ 191), had not been satisfactorily carried out by either party. We had promised to pay certain debts due to British subjects, and they complained that we did not keep our word. On the other hand, England persisted in holding

were made by hand. Later, he invented a greatly improved machine for "calico printing." (3) Asa Whittmore of Cambridge, Massachusetts, invented (1797) a machine for making wire cards for carding wool, "which operated, and still continues to operate, as if it had a soul." On later American inventions see §§ 220, 252, 284.

forts at Detroit and elsewhere along our northern frontier, though she had agreed to give them up to us. The English also interfered with our trade with France. Chief Justice Jay (§ 200) went to England and obtained a new treaty (1795). It did not satisfy the people, who thought that the English were getting the best of the bargain; but the forts were given up to us. Washington signed the treaty because he believed that we could not then demand anything better.

Certain newspapers attacked him and Jay in the most violent manner, and Washington, worn out with their abuse, declared that "he would rather be in his grave than in the presidency." The majority of the people, however, stood firmly by the man who had brought them through so many dangers, and Congress confirmed the treaty. When Washington retired from office he issued a farewell address in which he besought his fellow-citizens to cherish affection for each other, to cherish their love for the Union, and to "observe good faith and justice towards all nations."

He left the whole country in every way stronger and more prosperous than he had found it, and with the three new states of Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee (1791-1796) added to the Union.

208. Summary. Washington, the first President of the United States, held office for two terms (1789-1797). During that time he, with his cabinet, got the new government into practical operation, and through the wise counsel of Hamilton our national credit was solidly established. Washington's efforts prevented the nation from getting entangled in European wars at a time when our greatest need was peace. He also succeeded in making a very important treaty with Spain and another with England. Three new states had been added; Marietta and Cincinnati had taken firm root, and the vigorous life of the West had begun. Whitney's invention of the cotton gin had an immense effect on manufacturing and commerce, greatly increasing the wealth of both North and South, but unfortunately it also fastened slave labor on the country.

JOHN ADAMS (FEDERALIST)

209. Adams' Administration (Second President, One Term, 1797-1801); the "X. Y. Z. Papers." Mr. Adams'¹ presidency began with strong prospects of war with France. The French were enraged because we did not take sides with them in their contest with Great Britain (§ 203). They captured our merchant vessels, sold them openly in French ports, and insulted the statesmen sent by us to France to represent the United States. Finally, certain private agents of the French authorities made demands, threatening war unless we bribed them with money — "much money" — to keep peace. Pinckney, one of our representatives in France, indignant at such treatment, replied, "Millions for defense; not one cent for tribute."

President Adams substituted the letters X. Y. Z. for the names of the French agents, and sent a full report of the demands to Congress. The "X. Y. Z. Papers" roused the whole country, and Pinckney's defiant words were echoed throughout America, for sooner than spend a single copper in buying peace we were ready to fight at any cost. War soon broke out, and our sailors, with shouts of "Hail Columbia," the new song which every American was then singing, fought and captured several French vessels. When Napoleon Bonaparte came into power in France (1799), he speedily made peace.

210. The Alien and the Sedition Laws; the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions (1798-1799); Death of Washington. Several of the American newspapers were edited by foreigners, or by men who sympathized with France and were anxious to force us into a war with England. To put a stop to their constant abuse of the

¹ John Adams was born in Braintree, near Boston, in 1735; died 1826. Thomas Jefferson said of him that "he was the ablest advocate and champion of independence" in the Congress of 1776. He was one of the commissioners who negotiated the treaty of peace with Great Britain at the close of the Revolution; and he was shortly after sent as minister from the United States to England. He was elected by the Federalists (§ 203) by only three electoral votes over Thomas Jefferson, the Republican (or Democratic) candidate (Adams had 71 votes, Jefferson 68). Mr. Adams used to call himself "the President of three votes." According to the law (since changed) (see the Constitution, Article II, Paragraph 3), the candidate for President getting the largest vote next to the one elected was made Vice President. This law gave that office to Jefferson.

government, Congress, with the approval of Mr. Adams, passed (1798) the Alien and the Sedition Laws. The Alien Law gave the President the power to banish any alien or foreigner from the country whose influence he thought dangerous to our welfare. The President never enforced the law. The Sedition Law undertook to punish persons who should speak, write, or publish anything false or malicious against the President or the government of the United States. Under it several persons were heavily fined, and at least one was imprisoned.

The legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia passed resolutions (1798-1799) which denounced the Alien and Sedition Laws as dangerous, and contrary to the Constitution. They furthermore declared that should the President persist in enforcing them, the states would have the right to refuse to obey his commands. Both laws soon passed out of existence; but the idea that states might resist the national government, if they saw fit, was destined to make trouble many years later in South Carolina (§§ 267-269) and in the end it resulted in civil war (1861-1865).

During the excitement caused by these unpopular laws, Washington

New-York, December 21.



IT is with the deepest grief that we announce to the public the death of our *most distinguished* fellow-citizen *Lieut. General George Washington*.

The grief which we suffer on this truly mournful occasion, would be in some degree alleviated, if we possessed abilities to do justice to the merits of this *illustrious benefactor of mankind*; but, conscious of our inferiority, we shrink from the sublimity of the subject.

Our feelings, however, will not permit us to forbear observing, that the very disinterested and important services rendered by *George Washington* to these United States, both in the Field and in the Cabinet, have erected in the hearts of his countrymen, monuments of sincere and unbounded gratitude, which the mouldering hand of Time cannot deface; and that in every quarter of the Globe, where a free Government is ranked amongst the choicest blessings of Providence, and *virtue, morality, religion, and patriotism* are respected, THE NAME of WASHINGTON WILL BE HELD IN veneration. .

died at his home at Mt. Vernon (1799). The whole country united to do honor to the memory of him who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens"; Bonaparte ordered public mourning for him in France, and Lord Bridport, commander of a British fleet of nearly sixty men-of-war, lying off the coast of England, testified his respect by ordering his flags to be lowered to half-mast.

211. Summary. The four chief events of Adams' presidency were (1) the excitement caused by the "X. Y. Z. Papers," followed by war on the sea with France; (2) the passage of the Alien and the Sedition Laws; (3) the Kentucky and the Virginia Resolutions; and (4) the death of Washington.

VI

"Whenever our affairs go obviously wrong, the good sense of the people will interpose and set them right." — JEFFERSON'S *Writings*.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN POWER

THOMAS JEFFERSON (DEMOCRAT)¹

212. Jefferson's Administration (Third President, Two Terms, 1801–1809); "Republican Simplicity"; the New National Capital; Jefferson's Appointments to Office. The new President² called himself a Democratic-Republican, or, as we should say to-day, a Democrat (§ 203). He prided himself on taking his stand with the people. In dress, manners, and ideas he was quite different from the Federalist Presidents, Washington and Adams. They both thought it proper for the head of the nation to stand a little apart from the people; both were opposed to monarchy, yet they

¹ Reference Books (Jefferson to J. Q. Adams, inclusive). A. B. Hart's "Formation of the Union," ch. 9–12; W. C. Bryant and Gay's "United States" (revised edition), IV, 145–291; E. Channing's "The Jeffersonian System"; K. C. Babcock's "Rise of American Nationality" (War of 1812, etc.); F. J. Turner's "Rise of the New West"; A. B. Hart's "American History by Contemporaries," ch. 16–23; A. B. Hart's "Source Book," ch. 12–14; J. Schouler's "United States," II, III, ch. 10–12; J. B. McMaster's "United States," II, 526–635; III, IV, V, 1–523. See also the classified List of Books in the Appendix.

² Thomas Jefferson was born 1743, at Shadwell, Virginia; died 1826. He was a member of the Continental Congress and drafted the Declaration of Independence; he also drew up the Act of Religious Freedom adopted by Virginia through Madison's influence in 1785. He proposed our present decimal system of coinage and secured its acceptance. In 1785 he was sent to France to succeed Franklin as minister of the United States. On his tombstone is the following epitaph written by himself: "Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and the father of the University of Virginia." The presidential election of November, 1800, was a time of great excitement, and of bitter strife between the Federalists and the Republicans (or Democrats (§ 203)). Thomas Jefferson of Virginia and Aaron Burr of New Jersey were the Republican candidates. Each received 73 electoral votes; while John Adams, the Federalist candidate, got but 65. In such a case the House of Representatives — a majority of whom were Federalists — had to decide the election; they finally voted in favor of Jefferson, and he was declared President, with Burr for Vice President. This period marks the downfall of the Federalists; for the next forty years the Democrats held control.

kept up something of the dignity and ceremony of a king. Jefferson preferred, on the contrary, "republican simplicity" in all things, and was ready to receive and shake hands with any one and every one that wanted to shake hands with him.

Jefferson took the oath of office (§ 199) in the new capitol, which was ridiculed as a "palace in the woods." It stood on a hill in the "city of Washington" (§ 199), then nothing but a straggling village of a few hundred inhabitants. Washington, for whom it was named, had himself chosen the ground for the city.

When Jefferson entered office he found only Federalists (§§ 196, 203) in the employ of the government. He naturally wished that men of his own party should hold such offices, and when opportunities came he appointed Democrats to fill them. From this time on, for many years, each new President gave government employment to those who had voted for him.

213. What was thought of the Probable Extent of the Republic.

Eminent men of that day thought it very doubtful whether the American republic could permanently extend into the wilderness beyond the Allegheny Mountains. Many agreed with them, and believed that in time the country would be divided into several nations. They thought it would be impossible for the President to enforce the laws over a territory reaching from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. When we consider that there were then no steamboats, canals, or railways to bind the states together, and in fact very few good ordinary roads, it does not seem strange that men of sound judgment should have thought so.

214. What Our New Navy taught the Pirates of Tripoli.

For many years Tripoli and other towns on the north coast of Africa had been nests of Mohammedan pirates. They sent out fast-sailing armed vessels to capture the ships of Christians coming to the Mediterranean to trade.

European nations had made repeated efforts to break up this system of robbery, but had not succeeded. Even Great Britain was obliged to pay the governors of Algiers and Tripoli large sums of money every year in order to protect her commerce in that quarter of the globe. We, too, felt obliged to buy the good

will of these pirates. At one time we paid the ruler of Tripoli \$20,000 a year to let our merchant vessels sail the Mediterranean in peace. Furthermore, we spent \$1,000,000 in freeing American sailors that were held as slaves in Tripoli. Part of this money was given by the government and part of it was collected in the churches on Sunday.

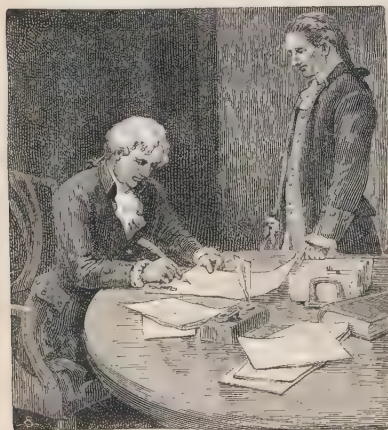
The Governor of Tripoli, disappointed because we did not yield to his demands and give him a still larger tribute, declared war (1801) against the United States. Jefferson was a man of peace, but he believed with Benjamin Franklin that "if you make yourself a sheep, the wolves will eat you." He thought we had been sheep long enough. The United States had recently completed (1798-1799) a small fleet of first-class war ships. They were commanded by such men as Barry (§ 169), Bainbridge, Decatur, Preble, and Truxtun. The President sent them out to Tripoli, and they soon made the ruler of that place confess his sins and beg for mercy.

The Pope declared that the Americans had done more toward punishing the insolent power of the Mohammedan pirates than all the nations of Europe put together. The Governor of Tripoli was glad to make a new treaty (1805) with the United States. He gave up asking tribute from us, and he agreed to let our merchant ships and sailors alone in future.

215. Our First Step in National Expansion, Purchase of Louisiana Territory, 1803. While this war with Tripoli was going on, the greatest event of Jefferson's presidency occurred. France had recovered possession of the province of Louisiana (1800), including New Orleans (§ 143). Napoleon Bonaparte, who was then about to engage in a tremendous contest with England, was afraid that when war broke out the English would send over a fleet and take Louisiana out of his hands. For that reason he was willing to sell it to the United States — especially as the money would help him to fit out his armies against Great Britain. In 1803, the year that Ohio entered the Union, President Jefferson bought the whole territory of Louisiana for \$15,000,000. By so doing he got the very heart of the American continent, reaching from the Mississippi back to the Rocky Mountains. He thus, at one stroke, more than

doubled the area of the United States, getting nearly 900,000 square miles, or over 560,000,000 acres, for less than three cents an acre. (Map, p. 194.)

There were people who grumbled at the purchase. Some even denied that Jefferson had the right to make it, — but the majority heartily supported the President. He himself confessed that he had stretched his power "till it cracked," in order to complete the bargain. In reality Jefferson showed his statesmanship in the act.



JEFFERSON SIGNING THE LOUISIANA
PURCHASE PAPERS

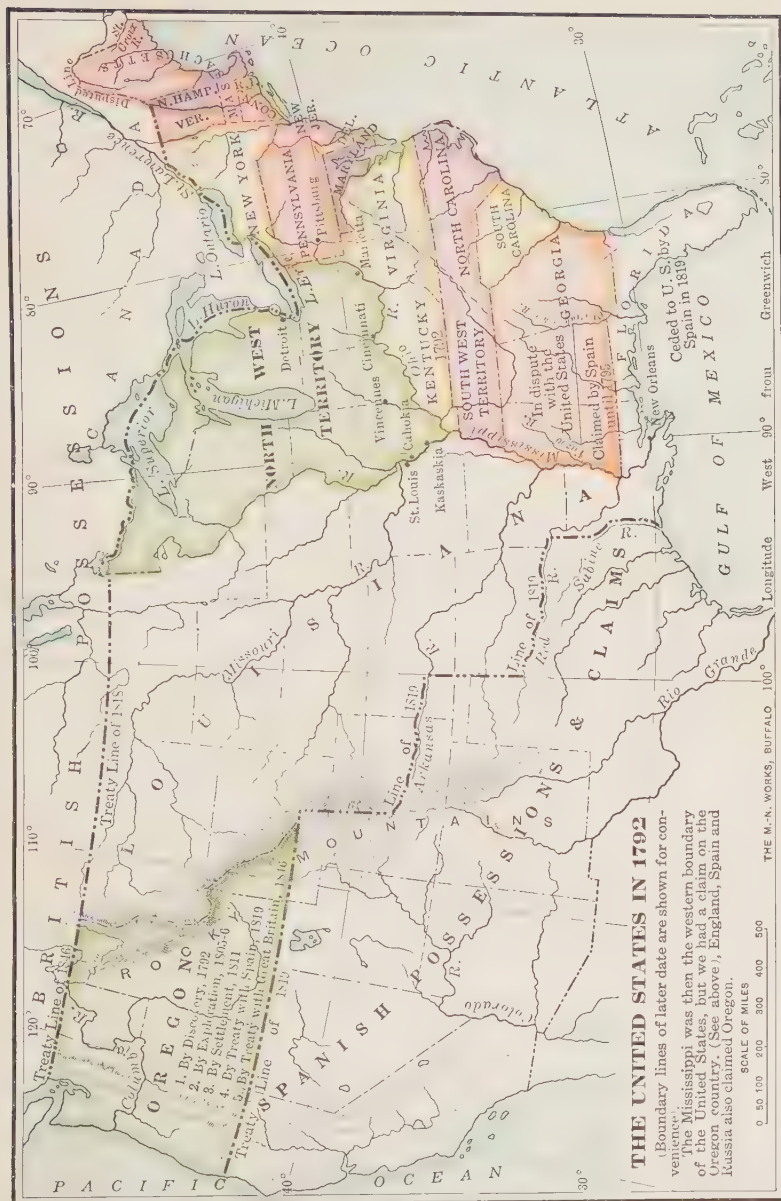
The Purchase of Louisiana did these four things :

1. It prevented disputes with France about the territory.
2. It prevented England from getting control of it.
3. It gave us a large part of the Great West — that is, all of it beyond the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains.
4. It made us masters of the entire Mississippi River, with the city of New Orleans to boot.

216. Lewis and Clark's Exploration of the Far West; Our Claim to Oregon. The next year

(1804) the President sent out an expedition under Lewis and Clark to explore the new territory. They started from St. Louis (May 14, 1804), then a little village of log cabins, and worked their way, in boats, up the Missouri. About the middle of July (1805) they reached the "Gates of the Rocky Mountains,"¹ a long, deep, narrow gorge, through which the river forces its way. This point is over twenty-six hundred miles from St. Louis, and it had taken the explorers more than a year to get to it. With an Indian girl

¹ The "Gates of the Rocky Mountains" are near the point where Helena, the capital of Montana, is now situated. A short distance above, the Jefferson, Gallatin, and Madison rivers unite to form the Missouri. Lewis and Clark ascended the Jefferson to its source, crossed the Rocky Mountains, and embarked on a branch of the Snake, or Lewis, River, which flows into the Columbia.



NOTE. 1. Louisiana was part of the country claimed by Spain in 1540 (§§ 21, 22). 2. It was claimed by France in 1686 (§ 131). 3. France ceded it to Spain in 1762 (§ 143). 4. Spain ceded it back to France in 1800 (§ 215). 5. The United States purchased it from France in 1803 (§ 215).



for their guide, they made their way across the mountains to the head waters of a stream flowing westward.

Launching their canoes (October 7, 1805) on its swift current, they floated down till they entered a far larger river. Down this they drifted, sometimes through perilous rapids, until they came at last (November 7, 1805) to its mouth. A dense fog hid everything. When it lifted, they found themselves within sight of the Pacific Ocean. The river they had descended was that which Captain Robert Gray of Boston (who first carried the American flag round the globe) entered from the Pacific, and named the Columbia (1792); he thus gave us our first claim to Oregon.

The explorers returned the next year (1806) to St. Louis. They had been absent nearly two years and a half. They had traveled, in all, over eight thousand miles, in boats, on horseback, and on foot, through wilderness peopled



by savages. Lewis and Clark's expedition discovered the people of this country to an immense extent, unlimited natural wealth of the Far West.

But the most important discovery was that it gave the United States a much stronger claim to the Oregon territory, which Captain Gray had entered, but which Lewis and Clark first crossed. Five years later (1811) John Jacob Astor¹ of New York, then the richest man in America, built the fur-trading post of Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia River. (Map, p. 194.)

¹ Astor planned a line of fur-trading posts, extending from the Great Lakes to the Pacific, and thence to the Sandwich Islands and China. The War of 1812 put a stop to this immense undertaking. He died in 1848, leaving a property of twenty million dollars, which has since increased enormously.

217. Effect of the French and English War on the United States; the *Leopard* and the *Chesapeake*. During all this time France and England continued at war (§ 203). Each of these nations forbade the United States to trade with the other. This in itself was disastrous to our commerce; but, as if this was not enough, England insisted on stopping our vessels on the ocean and searching them for British sailors. Unless a man could prove that he was an American by birth, the English seized him, especially if he was an able-bodied seaman, and compelled him to enter their service. In this way they had helped themselves to several thousand men, whom they forced to fight for them on board their ships of war. Finally (1807), the British man-of-war *Leopard* stopped the *Chesapeake*, one of our war vessels, at a time when the latter could make no effectual resistance, and seized four of her men, one of whom they hanged as a deserter.

218. The Embargo and the Non-Intercourse Acts. Congress passed the Embargo Act (1807) to put an end to these outrages. The Embargo forbade the sailing of any American vessel from any of our ports, — even a fishing smack found it difficult to leave Boston to get mackerel. Many hoped that by stopping all trade with Europe we should bring France and England into treating us with respect.

But we did not stop. The value of our exports fell to \$40,000,000 in a single year, and there was great distress and discontent.

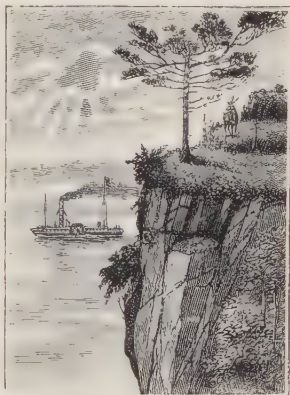
At last Napoleon seemed danger of rebellion, and the Embargo Act was not repealed. Congress passed an act, called the Non-Intercourse Act, which allowed people to trade with Great Britain and France, but gave liberty to trade with other foreign countries only if their ports rose, yet many men who had turned their attention now to manufacturing turned to the important results of the Non-Intercourse Act. Many of the manufactories of the country had their beginning at that time.

219. Burr tried for Treason. Meanwhile (1807), Aaron Burr, who had been Vice President during Jefferson's first term, was tried

for treason.¹ Burr had shot Alexander Hamilton (§§ 196, 200), his political opponent, in a duel. That act, hardly different from downright murder, brought him into disgrace. Later, Burr planned an enterprise for conquering Texas, which was then part of Mexico, and belonged to Spain. He probably hoped to get some of the western states to join him, and to set up an independent nation in the southwest, with New Orleans for its capital; he, of course, meant to be its chief ruler. Burr's guilt was not clearly proven, and he was permitted to go free. He died in obscurity and poverty in New York.

220. "Fulton's Folly," 1807. In the summer of the same year, 1807, Robert Fulton² launched his newly invented steamboat on the Hudson. He gave notice that he should start from New York City for Albany. Up to that date all the trade and travel on the river had been either by sailing vessels or rowboats. Men called the new steamboat "Fulton's Folly." (August 17, 1807) to laugh at the invention.

The steamboat - covered paddle wheel was as "helpless as a log." Then the "log" was moved! "She moves!" shouted the



FULTON'S STEAMBOAT

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¹ Treason: an attempt to overthrow the government by force of arms. Burr was accused of having conspired with the British to overthrow the government. The charge of treason was set aside by the Supreme Court. It did not uphold it. (See Appendix, the Constitution.)

² Robert Fulton was born in Fulton, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1765. He was of Irish descent. John Fitch of Windsor, Connecticut, had invented a steamboat many years before, and tried in vain to get Benjamin Franklin to help him make it a success. In 1798 he became discouraged, and committed suicide. In his journal he left these words: "The day will come when *some more powerful man* will get fame and riches from *my invention*."

move; and she kept on moving against both wind and current, until, in thirty-two hours, she reached Albany.

In a few years Fulton's great invention made a complete change in modes of travel. Steamboats were put on the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Great Lakes, and helped to open up and settle the western part of the United States. A number of years later (1819), the ship *Savannah* was fitted up with paddle wheels that could be propelled by steam. She started from Savannah, Georgia, and crossed the Atlantic. But nothing further was done in that direction for twenty years; then Great Britain sent out (1840) the first regular line of ocean steamers to America (§ 280). From that time to this such vessels have made trips, backward and forward across the Atlantic, with the regularity of clockwork.

221. The Importation of Slaves forbidden. The year following Fulton's triumph Congress put a stop to the importation of slaves (§ 196, note 1, paragraph 4) into the United States (1808). The law had the hearty support of President Jefferson. He, like Washington and most leading men of that day of the South, was a slaveholder. But, like Washington and many other influential Southerners, he hoped that the country would find some peaceful means of freeing the negroes. Jefferson, in particular, was beloved by his slaves, and would gladly have given them their liberty, if he could have clearly seen how to do it. He continued to hold them, as many other men did, but he said, "I tremble for my country, when I think that God is just."

222. Summary. In our first Democratic President. He purchased the Louisiana Territory, thereby more than doubling the area of the United States. He sent Lewis and Clark to explore the country. During Jefferson's administration Fulton invented the steamboat and established steam navigation on the Mississippi. The pirates of Tripoli and Algiers were conquered; the importation of slaves was stopped; and on account of trouble with Great Britain and France, Congress passed the Embargo and the Non-Intercourse Acts restraining our foreign trade.

JAMES MADISON (DEMOCRAT)

223. Madison's Administration (Fourth President, Two Terms, 1809-1817); Reopening of Trade with Great Britain. When Madison¹ became President, Great Britain and France were actively at war, and our ships were still forbidden by Act of Congress (§ 218) to trade with either country. The President was anxious to reopen commerce with one or both. Mr. Erskine, the British minister at Washington, gave Madison to understand that England would let our vessels sail the seas unmolested, if we would promise to send our wheat, rice, cotton, fish, and other exports to her and her friends, but refuse them to her enemy, France. The agreement was made.

More than a thousand of our vessels, loaded with grain and other American



THE SAILING OF OUR SHIPS

products, were waiting impatiently for the President to grant them liberty to sail for Great Britain. He spoke the word, and they "spread their white wings like a flock of long-imprisoned birds,

¹ James Madison of Virginia and Alexander Hamilton of New York were among the foremost of the distinguished statesmen who framed the Constitution and aided Washington in organizing the government. Madison not only drafted the main features of the Constitution, but offered the first ten amendments, adopted 1791.

Madison furthermore obtained the passage of the Religious Freedom Act of Virginia (originally drawn by Jefferson in 1778), 1785, by which entire religious liberty was granted, and all taxes for the support of public worship, and all religious tests for holding office in that state, were forbidden. In this great reform Virginia led every state, not excepting Rhode Island, in some respects, and set an example followed in the Constitution of the United States (see the Constitution, Article VI, Paragraph 3). Madison was born in King George County, Virginia, in 1751; died 1836.

Madison (with George Clinton of New York, Vice President) was elected President by the Republican, or Democratic, party (§ 203).

and flew out to sea." A great shout of joy went up from the farmers, merchants, and shipowners, for they believed that the fleet of vessels would return to fill thousands of empty pockets with welcome dollars. But England denied having authorized Mr. Erskine to make such an agreement. The result was that our trade stopped as suddenly as it began, and New England was filled with angry disappointment.

224. How Napoleon deceived us. Next, Napoleon, Emperor of the French, had a word of promise for us. He had seized and sold hundreds of our ships because we would not aid him in his war against England. He now agreed to let our commerce alone, provided we would bind ourselves not to send any of our produce to Great Britain, but would let him and his friends have what they wanted to buy. Napoleon's offer was a trick to deceive us, and to get us into trouble with England. We agreed to his terms; he did not keep his word, and the ill feeling between England and America was made still more bitter.

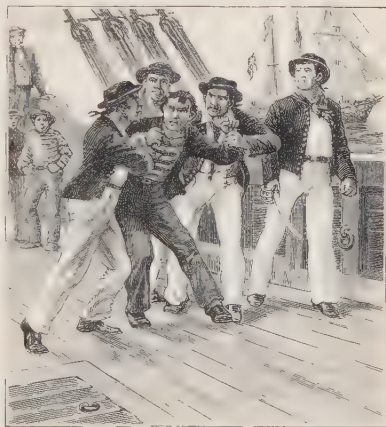
225. Tecumseh's Conspiracy; Battle of Tippecanoe. Meanwhile, it was discovered that Tecumseh, a famous Indian chief of Ohio, had succeeded in uniting the savage tribes of the West in a plot to drive out the white settlers. General William H. Harrison, who became President thirty years later (1841), met the Indians at Tippecanoe, in the territory of Indiana, and defeated them in a great battle (1811). (Map, p. 203.) Tecumseh was not in that battle; but he took a leading part in later ones, led by the English. Many Americans believed that England had secretly encouraged Tecumseh's plot. This belief helped to increase the desire of the majority for war with Great Britain.

226. The War of 1812; the Henry Letters; the Real Cause of the War; its Declaration. At this time a man named Henry declared that the English government in Canada had employed him to try to persuade the New England States to leave the Union and join Canada. He showed a bundle of letters in proof of the story. Madison paid Henry \$50,000 for his bundle. The letters were a fraud and Henry was a rascal; but, for a time, both the President and Congress were deceived by this swindler, and our hatred of Great Britain burned hotter than ever.

The real, final cause of the war, however, lay in the fact that England persisted in exercising her assumed "right of search" (§ 217). Her war ships stopped our merchant vessels, took American seamen out of them, and forced them, under the sting of the lash, to enter her service and fight her battles.¹ Her excuse was that she seized men who were British subjects and who had deserted and entered our service. This was true in some cases, but England made no discrimination, but took any able-bodied sailor she fancied. This was an outrage that we could no longer bear; several thousand of our citizens had been kidnaped, but England refused to stop these acts of violence. For this reason Congress declared war in the summer of 1812. New England, knowing that such a war would ruin what commerce she had, was opposed to fighting; but the rest of the country thought differently, and with a hurrah for "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights"² the war began.

227. Hull's March to Detroit; his Surrender. Our plan was to attack Canada, and, if all went well, to annex it. In expectation of the war, General

William Hull had been ordered to march from Urbana, Ohio, to Detroit. Hull had served in the Revolution, and Washington spoke of him as "an officer of great merit." In order to reach Detroit he had to build two hundred miles of road through forests and swamps. It was a tremendous piece of work. Hull did



SEIZING AMERICAN SEAMEN

¹ England denied that a British subject could become an American citizen. This was at a time when she was short of sailors in her navy, and used to send gangs of sailors ashore in England at night, with handcuffs and gags, to seize men and drag them off to fight against France.

² By "Free Trade" we meant freedom to send our merchant ships to what ports we pleased; by "Sailors' Rights" we meant the protection of American seamen against seizure by the British.

it, and reached Detroit. He did not get the news that we had declared war, until after the Canadians had got it, and had cut off most of the supplies of provisions and powder that he was expecting to receive. The forests back of Detroit were full of hostile savages; in front was the English general Brock, with a force of Canadians and Indians. Brock summoned Hull to surrender.

Without waiting to be attacked, without firing a single gun at the enemy, Hull hoisted a white tablecloth as a signal to Brock, gave up the fort, and with it Detroit and Michigan. For this act he was tried by a court of American army officers, convicted of

cowardice, and sentenced to be shot; but President Madison pardoned him because of his services in the Revolution.¹

228. The *Constitution* and the *Guerrière*.² Although we had been beaten on land, we were wonderfully victorious at sea. England had been in the habit of treating America as though she owned the ocean from shore to shore. She had a magnificent navy of a thousand war ships.

We had about a dozen! One of

our twelve (§ 214) was the *Constitution* (44 guns), commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, a nephew of General William Hull (§ 227). No braver officer ever trod a ship's deck. While cruising off the coast of Nova Scotia, Captain Hull fell in with the British man-of-war *Guerrière* (38 guns). The fight began (August 19, 1812). The *Constitution* carried more guns and more men than the British ship, and in twenty minutes the *Guerrière* surrendered, a shattered, helpless, sinking wreck. The *London Times*, forgetting what Paul Jones had done in the Revolution (§ 183), said, "Never before

¹ General Hull's defense was that he surrendered in order to save the women and children of Detroit from the scalping knives of Brock's Indians.

² *Guerrière*: the British had captured this vessel from the French; hence her French name, meaning "the warrior."



BATTLE OF THE "CONSTITUTION" AND
THE "GUERRIÈRE"



MAP OF WAR OF 1812

in the history of the world did an English frigate haul down her colors to an American." But this was only the beginning of our successes at sea, for out of fifteen such battles we won twelve. Captain Hull brought his prisoners to Boston. The *Constitution*, almost unhurt, and henceforth known as *Old Ironsides*,¹ was hailed with ringing cheers. Hull and his brave officers were feasted in Faneuil Hall; Congress voted him a gold medal and gave his men \$50,000 in prize money.

229. Progress of the War; Commodore O. H. Perry's Victory.

Later that year (1812), the Americans attacked Queenstown, Canada, and General Harrison (§ 225), commander of the Army of the West, tried in vain to drive the British out of Detroit.



In the autumn (1813), Commodore O. H. Perry gained a grand victory on Lake Erie. Perry had built five vessels from green timber cut on the shore of the lake. He added four more vessels, and with that little fleet captured the British fleet carrying more guns and more men. Be-

fore the fight began he hoisted a flag over his vessel — the *Lawrence* — bearing the words, "Don't give up the ship."² During the battle the *Lawrence* was literally cut to pieces, and her decks covered with dead and dying men. Perry saw that if he persisted in staying where he was, he must be defeated. Taking his little brother, a boy of twelve, with him, he jumped into a boat, and ordered the crew to pull for the *Niagara*. It was a perilous undertaking. The British shot broke the oars to pieces, and young Perry's cap was torn with bullets; but the boat reached the *Niagara*, and Perry gained the battle. Then, on the back of an old letter, he wrote this dispatch to General Harrison,

"We have met the enemy, and they are ours."

¹ See Holmes' poem on *Old Ironsides*, written when it was proposed to break up the old ship. She has been repaired and lies near the Charlestown navy yard.

² These were the last words of Captain James Lawrence (June 1, 1813), when he fell mortally wounded in a battle between his ship, the *Chesapeake*, and the English ship-of-war *Shannon*. Perry had given Lawrence's name to his ship.

That victory gave us control of Lake Erie, and the British abandoned Detroit (§ 227).

230. Jackson's Victory at Tohopeka. The next spring (1814) General Andrew Jackson, who was destined to be President of the United States, marched against the Creeks, a strong Indian tribe in the southwest territory, now forming the states of Alabama and Mississippi. The Creeks had recently massacred five hundred men, women, and children at Fort Mimms, near Mobile. Jackson met the Indians in battle at Tohopeka, on a branch of the Alabama River. (Map, p. 203.) He completely destroyed their power, and they surrendered the greater part of their territory to the United States.

231. Battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane ; Burning of Washington. In the summer of the same year (1814) General Brown, with General Winfield Scott and General Ripley, gained the battle of Chippewa, in Canada. Later, they drove the British from a hard-fought field at Lundy's Lane near Niagara Falls. (Map, p. 203.)

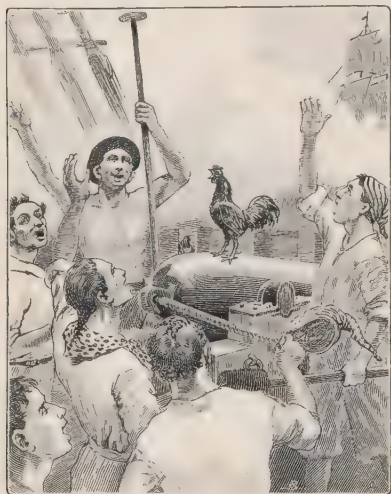
Meanwhile, the British had blockaded all our ports along the Atlantic coast, and had plundered and burned a number of towns. Later in the summer (1814) they entered Washington. (Map, p. 203.) President Madison fled in one direction ; Mrs. Madison, filling her workbag with silver spoons, fled in another. The President's dinner, which had just been served, was captured and eaten by the enemy. After dinner, Admiral Cockburn, the English commander, and his officers, paid a visit to the House of Representatives. Springing into the Speaker's chair, he cried out, " Shall this harbor of Yankee democracy be burned ? " There was a general shout of " Aye ! " " Aye ! "

The torch was applied, and soon the evening sky was red with the glare of the flames, which consumed the Capitol, the President's house, and other public buildings. A recent English historian¹ says of that deed, " Few more shameful acts are recorded in our history ; and it was the more shameful in that it was done under strict orders from the government at home." ²

¹ J. R. Green's " History of the English People."

² But we had burned (1813) the Canadian government buildings at York (now Toronto), then the capital of Canada. The truth is, that both sides perpetrated many acts which time should make both forgive and forget.

232. Macdonough's Victory on Lake Champlain; British Attack on Fort McHenry. A few weeks after the burning of Washington a British expedition 14,000 strong moved down from Canada by way of Lake Champlain to attack northern New York. Commodore Macdonough had command of a small American fleet on the lake. A British fleet carrying more guns and more men attacked him (1814) in Plattsburg Bay. (Map, p. 203.) At the first broadside fired by the enemy, a young gamecock kept as a pet on board Macdonough's ship, the *Saratoga*, flew up upon a gun; flapping his wings, he gave a



MACDONOUGH'S VICTORY

crow of defiance that rang like the blast of a trumpet. Swinging their hats, Macdonough's men cheered the plucky bird again and again. He had foretold victory. That was enough. They went into the fight with such ardor, and managed their vessels with such skill, that in less than three hours all of the British ships that had not hauled down their flags were scudding to a place of safety as rapidly as possible.

The next British attack was on Baltimore, by the same force and fleet that had taken Washington (§ 231). That city was guarded by Fort McHenry. All day and all the following night (September 13, 1814) the enemy's ships hammered away with shot and shell at the fort.¹ As the anxious hours of darkness slowly passed, the people of Baltimore asked each other, "Can we possibly hold the fort?" When the sun rose the next morning the question was answered—"our flag was still there"; the British

¹ It was on this occasion that Francis S. Key, of Baltimore, wrote the "Star-Spangled Banner." Key was a prisoner at the time on board of one of the British men-of-war. All night long he watched the bombardment of the fort. By the flash of the guns he could see

had given up the attack, and were sailing down Chesapeake Bay. Baltimore was safe, and soon every one was joyously singing the new song, the "Star-Spangled Banner."

233. Jackson's Victory at New Orleans; the Hartford Convention; End of the War. Early the next year came the final battle of the war. The contest had now lasted over two years. The British determined to strike a tremendous blow at New Orleans. If successful it might give them a foothold on the Mississippi River. Sir Edward Pakenham with 10,000 picked men made the attack (January 8, 1815). General Andrew Jackson defended the approach to the city with fortifications made of banks of earth and logs. He had only half as many men as the British commander, and they were men, too, who knew practically nothing about war, but many of them were sharpshooters.

In less than half an hour after the fight began Pakenham was killed, and the enemy had lost over 2000 men to our 71. Then



BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS

the British gave up the battle. It was the end of the war. Great Britain had already made peace with our commissioners at Ghent, in Belgium (December 24, 1814); but the news did not reach us until several weeks after Jackson's victory. The treaty said nothing about the British claim of the right to search American vessels (§ 226); there was hardly need to mention it, for our ships were no longer molested.

our flag waving over it. In the morning, when the mist cleared away, he found it was "still there." His feelings of delight found expression in the song, which he hastily wrote in pencil on the back of an old letter.

While the news of the treaty of peace was on its way, delegates from most of the New England States met in Hartford, Connecticut, in secret session. They were men who had bitterly opposed the war from the beginning. It was reported that the convention was plotting to dissolve the Union; but the delegates declared that they met to secure defense for the New England States, and to propose certain amendments to the Constitution.

234. Results of the War. The war was rightfully called our "Second War of Independence." It had four chief results:

1. The Revolution had made us independent on land, the War of 1812 made us independent at sea. Henceforth Great Britain respected our rights on the ocean and no longer tried to "fence in the Atlantic."

2. The war showed foreign nations that any attempt to establish themselves on the territory of the United States (§ 233) was likely to end in disastrous failure.

3. By cutting off our foreign commerce for a number of years the war caused us to build many cotton and woolen mills (§ 205). This made us in far greater degree than before a manufacturing people, — able to clothe ourselves, instead of having to depend on the looms of Great Britain for our "prints" and our broadcloths.

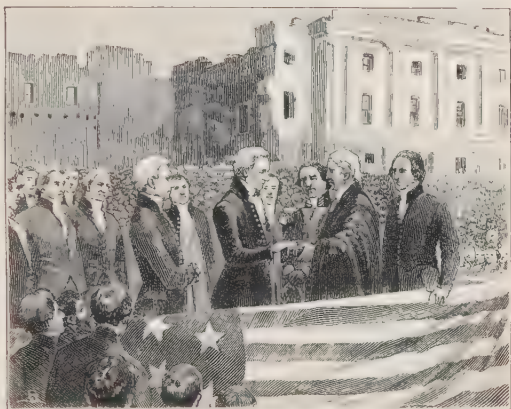
4. Congress enacted a protective tariff, with high duties (1816), to safeguard these mills and other American industries against foreign competition (§ 266).

235. Summary. Madison's administration was mainly taken up with the second war with Great Britain, which began in 1812 and ended early in 1815. We declared war because England refused to stop taking our sailors out of our ships and forcing them into her service. The war put an end to this practice. That was nearly a hundred years ago. Since then England and America have always been at peace with each other. May that peace never again be broken!

JAMES MONROE (DEMOCRAT)

236. Monroe's Administration (Fifth President; Two Terms, 1817-1825); Monroe a Soldier of the Revolution; his Inauguration. Monroe,¹ like Washington, got the best part of his education on the battlefield. When the Revolution broke out he was a student in the College of William and Mary, Virginia. He threw down his books and went to do his part in the cause of liberty. Among the gallant officers who helped to gain the victory of Trenton (§ 174) James Monroe, then only eighteen, was one.

Mr. Monroe stood near the ruins of the Capitol at Washington when he delivered his inaugural address. The British had burned (§ 231) that edifice, but the foundations remained unharmed. Workmen were then rebuilding it. The President's address was full of encouragement. It seemed



MONROE'S INAUGURATION

to him that the solid foundations of the Capitol stood an image of the nation, and that, like them, the government was sure to continue to exist.

237. The President's Journey through the North; the "Era of Good Feeling." Mr. Monroe spent the summer (1817) in traveling through New England and the northern states. New England had been bitterly opposed to the War of 1812, because the stoppage of commerce had ruined many of her merchants

¹ James Monroe of Westmoreland County, Virginia (born 1758; died 1831), was elected President by the Republican, or Democratic, party (see § 203) by a very large majority over the Federalist candidate. Daniel D. Tompkins of New York was chosen Vice President. On Monroe's second election, see § 237.

and shipbuilders. The President's journey in this part of the country did great good. He went as a peacemaker. All knew that he had fought under Washington; all respected the man's unblemished character and honest purpose. When the people saw him dressed in the military costume of the Revolution, the sight recalled the old days that had "tried men's souls."

In Boston and other cities the citizens brought out the shot-torn and smoke-stained battle flags of 1776 to decorate the streets. Gray-haired men, scarred with wounds received at Bunker Hill, at



IN THE FLORIDA SWAMPS

Trenton, at Saratoga, gathered to welcome the new President. He spoke of the inestimable worth of the Union, of the need that the North and the South had, and always must have, of each other. Men listened, and forgot their political differences. Every one declared that the "Era of Good Feeling" had begun. When Mr. Monroe was chosen President for the second time (1821) the people showed their respect for him and their confidence in him by their electoral vote, which lacked but a single one of being unanimous.¹

238. The First Seminole War; Our Second Step in Expansion, the Purchase of Florida. Great Britain had ceded Florida back to Spain (§ 143), and Florida was now a constant source of trouble to the people of the South. Many Seminoles, or wandering Indians, had gone there from the country west of Georgia. These savages united with bands of runaway negroes. They frequently attacked the Georgia planters, burning houses, murdering families, and

¹ Out of 232 electoral votes cast by the twenty-four states then constituting the Union, Monroe received 231. The elector who cast the remaining vote (for John Quincy Adams) did it simply because he had vowed "that no later mortal should stand in Washington's shoes," — that is, receive, like Washington, every vote for the presidency.

carrying off property. It was no easy matter to fight the Indians and negroes in the swamps and thickets of Florida. Finally, General Jackson (§ 230) was sent (1818) to see what he could do. In three months he conquered the country, though it still belonged to Spain. Many years later (1835) we had a second war with the Seminoles (§ 271).

The Spanish government found that these troubles were likely to break out again, and wisely decided to sell Florida to us. We obtained the entire territory, about 60,000 square miles (1819), for \$5,000,000. This was our second step in national expansion (§ 215). (Map, p. 334.) At the same time we gave up to Spain all claim to the country later known as Texas, which we at one time considered to be included in our Louisiana Purchase (§ 215). Spain, on the other hand, gave up her claim to the "Oregon country" (§ 216), and so strengthened our title to it.

239. The Question of the Western Extension of Slavery. The year in which we purchased Florida (1819) the question came up, whether slavery should be permitted to establish itself west of the Mississippi, in the immense region then called Missouri Territory. (Map, p. 214.) By the Ordinance of 1787 (§ 195) Congress had shut out slavery from the Northwest Territory, which lay east of the Mississippi and northwest of the Ohio River (Map, p. 172); now Congress asked if it would not be best to shut it out also from the whole of Missouri Territory.

Ex-President Jefferson (§ 221) was afraid that this discussion about the extension of slavery would lead to trouble between the North and the South. He said that it terrified him "like a fire bell in the night."

240. Change of Feeling in Regard to Slavery; Condition of Things at the North and at the South. The reason for his fear was that a great change had come over the country. Before the Revolution every colony held negroes in bondage. But in the North the slaves were chiefly house servants, and their number was never very large. In the South, however, the planters raised all of their cotton, rice, and tobacco by slave labor, and the number of negroes was constantly increasing. At first few persons

considered slavery an evil; but after a time many able men in both sections of the country came to believe that it was a bad thing for both the whites and the blacks.

In the North this feeling led to the passing of laws which gave the slaves their freedom. But at the South the planters did not see how they could free their negroes without ruining themselves.

Later, the invention of the cotton gin (§ 205) made slave labor immensely profitable. For this reason the planters wished to keep up the system. At the same time a good many Northern men, who made money by manufacturing and dealing in cotton cloth, became interested in maintaining slavery (§ 205).

241. How Slavery divided the Country in Regard to Trade with Europe. On the whole, the effect of the slave system was now to divide the nation, instead of uniting it. Many of the people of the two sections not only thought differently about the right and the wrong of holding the negro in bondage, but they no longer agreed about the tariff (§§ 200, 234). The South devoted all its strength to raising cotton, rice, and tobacco. It had scarcely any manufactures; it had to buy all its clothing, shoes, and other goods. Europe could then make these articles much cheaper than they could be made in the United States. The South, therefore, naturally wished for free trade, in order that it might import its supplies from the other side of the Atlantic.

The North, on the other hand, however, had gradually come to devote much of its labor and its money to making cloth, shoes, and other articles; for this reason it was opposed to free trade. It wished to keep up a protective tariff (§ 234), which would tax foreign goods and so make people buy our own instead.

242. Why the North opposed the Extension of Slavery West of the Mississippi; why the South demanded it. Now it happened that at that time (1819) the number of free states and of slave states was equal, each section having eleven. A majority of the Northern people, believing slavery to be an evil, had therefore two chief reasons for opposing its establishment west of the Mississippi in Missouri Territory (§ 239).

1. They thought it would be a serious injury to that part of the country, and as great a mistake as for a farmer to take the thistles and weeds which grew on his old land and deliberately plant them on a field of freshly cleared soil.

2. They objected to it because, if the new territory should be admitted as slave states, the South might thereby gain a majority of representatives in Congress. That section could then, by its votes, strengthen and extend slavery, and at the same time it might repeal the protective tariff (§ 241) and so permit the free importation of all kinds of manufactured goods.

On the other hand, the South argued that its prosperity depended on the extension of slave labor, and on free trade with Europe; their papers boldly declared: "Slavery must have room." The people there saw that the North was rapidly outstripping them in growth of population. If, then, a part of Missouri Territory should enter the Union as a free state, the North would probably get control of Congress and of our foreign trade.

243. The Great Missouri Compromise, 1820. Finally, a part of Missouri Territory was set apart under the name of the state of Missouri, and applied for admission as a slave state. (Map, p. 214.) The South urged the measure with all its might; the North fought against it with equal determination. After nearly two years of angry debate Henry Clay¹ of Kentucky succeeded in persuading Congress to make a compromise, — that is, a bargain in which each side agreed to give up something to the other in order to settle the dispute.

The Compromise was this:

1. The North agreed that Missouri should enter the Union as a slave state.

2. The South agreed that in all future cases the states formed out of the remainder of Missouri Territory north of the parallel

¹ Henry Clay was born in Virginia in 1777; died at Washington, 1852. He studied law, and in 1797 removed to Lexington, Kentucky. In 1799, when the people of Kentucky were about adopting a state constitution, Clay urged them (but without success) to abolish slavery. He entered Congress in 1806, and continued in public life from that time until his death. He was a man of remarkable personal influence, a "peacemaker" by temperament, and the greatest orator the Southwest ever possessed. Although ardently attached to his adopted state of Kentucky, yet he declared in 1850 that he owed his first allegiance to the Union, and a subordinate allegiance to his state. See Carl Schurz's admirable "Life of Henry Clay."

of 36 degrees and 30 minutes on the map should come in free.
(Map, below.)

3. Finally, the South agreed that it would no longer oppose the effort of the North for the admission of Maine, which would, of course, come in as a free state.

This law was passed in 1820 under the name of the Missouri Compromise Act. Maine was admitted (1820) and Missouri



MAP ILLUSTRATING THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE ACT OF 1820

The Act did not mention the territory south of $36^{\circ} 30'$, but the understanding was that it was to be opened to slavery.

followed (1821). This kept the political balance even, for the North now had twelve free states and the South twelve slave states.

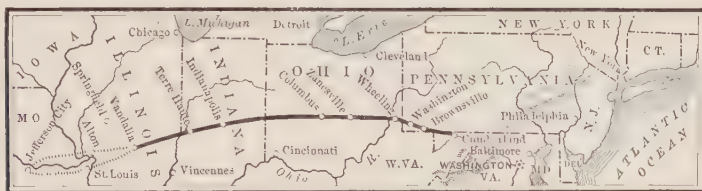
Many people believed that the passage of the Missouri Compromise Act¹ had settled the debate about the extension of slavery "forever." But facts proved that in this case "forever" meant

¹ John Randolph, a Virginia slaveholder, then in Congress, called the Northern men who voted for the Compromise "Doughfaces," because he thought they had no more character than a piece of dough. But John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, a thorough hater of slavery, who was then Secretary of State, and who had no more "dough" in his make-up than a block of New England granite, believed the Missouri Compromise was a wise measure and necessary to the preservation of the Union.

only about twenty-five years (§§ 285, 298, 299, 305); then,¹ as we shall see, the question came up again, and in a more dangerous form than before.

244. Desire to reach the West; the "National Road." Next to the extension of slavery, one of the greatest questions of this period was how to reach the West. To-day we find it difficult to understand this. To go West, we simply step into an express train, and steam whirls us to our destination at the rate of forty or fifty miles an hour. If mountains block the way, the train either climbs over them or goes through them.

In President Monroe's time the railway did not exist, and although the steamboat did (§ 220), that could only go where some navigable river or lake opened the way. Look on the map



THE CUMBERLAND OR NATIONAL ROAD

of the United States (Map, above), and you will see that the Allegheny Mountains shut out the East from the West. As the steamboat could not find a passage leading through those rough walls of rock, Congress resolved to build a wagon road over them. Such a road had already been begun (1811) at the head of navigation on the Potomac, at Cumberland, Maryland. (Map, above.) This National Road was now (1825) gradually extended across the forest-covered mountains to Wheeling, on the Ohio River, where it connected with steamboats running to Cincinnati and to New Orleans.

But that was not enough. There were millions of acres of fertile land in Ohio and the country beyond it, which emigrants

¹ That is, until the question of the annexation of Texas came up in 1845, followed by that of the Wilmot Proviso (1846-1848), by the Compromise of 1850, and by the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854.

wished to reach more directly than the steamboat could help them to do. Henry Clay, the "Father of the National Road" (§ 243), urged its extension from Wheeling across Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois through to the Mississippi. (Map, p. 215.) President Monroe earnestly favored this enterprise, but he did not think that he had lawful power under the Constitution to spend the people's money for such purposes. Indirectly, however, he used every effort to help it forward. The road was extended nearly to the Mississippi, but by that time people had begun to build railways (§§ 252-255),



EMIGRANTS GOING WEST OVER THE
NATIONAL ROAD

so the National Road never got any farther. It was the first great work of the kind undertaken by the United States, costing, in the end, over \$6,000,000. It stretched across the country for hundreds of miles, — broad, solid, smooth, — a true national highway.

245. Traffic on the National Road; Emigrant Wagons. The

traffic over the road was immense. Gayly painted stagecoaches ran through the more thickly settled parts. Beyond, toward the west, there was a constant stream of huge canvas-covered emigrant wagons, often so close together that the leaders of the teams could touch the wagon ahead of them with their noses. To see that procession of emigrant families going forward day after day showed how fast the people were settling that wild western country, which is now covered with cultivated farms, thriving towns, and busy cities.

It was the beginning of that great march toward the setting sun which was to keep steadily advancing until the Pacific said "Halt!" — that is, until we had taken possession of the whole breadth of the continent.

246. The "Monroe Doctrine"; "America for Americans." While the National Road (§ 244) was being pushed westward, Mexico and several South American countries had declared themselves republics, independent of Spain. The Czar of Russia and most of the European kings looked with a jealous eye on republics. The Czar then held Russian America (now Alaska) and was endeavoring to get possession of more territory, farther south, on the Pacific coast. He, with other European rulers, formed an alliance to force the new American nations to bow their heads again under the old despotic yoke of Spain from which they had just freed themselves. President Monroe cried, "Hands off!" In his message to Congress (1823) he declared:

1. That the United States would deny the right of any European power to plant any new colonies on the American continent.
2. That we were resolved not to meddle with the affairs of the nations of the Old World.
3. That we were equally determined that they should not in any way meddle with the affairs of the New World.

That declaration is called the "Monroe Doctrine."¹ It means that we consider that "America is for Americans." We stand by the right of the different nations on both the American continents, North and South, to manage their own affairs in their own way, without interference from Europe.

247. Visit of Lafayette. Near the close of Monroe's administration Congress requested the President to invite Lafayette

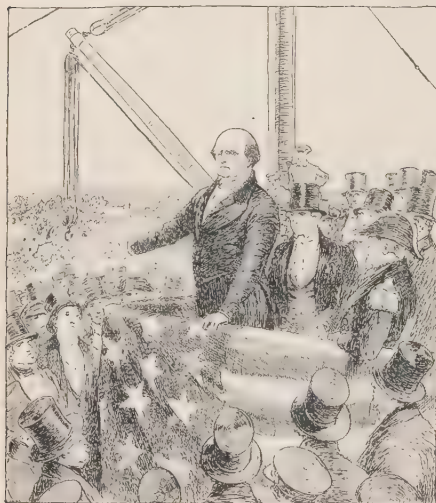
¹ The "Monroe Doctrine": in his message to Congress on December 2, 1823, President Monroe said, speaking of the project of Russia to plant one or more Russian colonies on the coast of what was then the Mexican state of California, "The occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, *that the American continents, by the free and independent position which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.*"

Again, President Monroe said, in the same message, in speaking of the proposed interference of European governments in America, "*We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.*"

Finally, the President said that we could not consider any interference by Europe with the independent republics which had been established on either of the American continents "*in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.*" See W. Macdonald's "Select Documents of United States History, 1776-1861," p. 228.

(§ 176), then a venerable man verging on seventy, to revisit the United States after forty years' absence. He came (1824), and spent more than a year traveling through the country as the guest of the nation. He visited every one of the twenty-four states, and all of the principal cities and towns.

He had spent much of his fortune in our cause. Congress gratefully voted him two hundred thousand dollars, and made him a grant of twenty-four thousand acres of land in Florida. He was everywhere received with enthusiasm and affection. Some of the



WEBSTER AND LAFAYETTE AT BUNKER
HILL, JUNE 17, 1825

old soldiers of the Revolution, who had fought under him, were completely overcome by their feelings on seeing their former commander, who had so generously helped them in the dark days of the war. Lafayette took part in laying the corner stone of Bunker Hill Monument (June 17, 1825), just fifty years after the battle.¹ When he returned to France that autumn he was followed by the fervent prayers of the powerful nation he had done so much to establish.

That happened more than eighty years ago, but there is good proof that the American people have not forgotten, and never will forget, the noble-hearted Frenchman.

¹ In his oration at the laying of the corner stone of Bunker Hill Monument, June 17, 1825, Daniel Webster pointed to the Revolutionary veterans who stood near him and addressed Lafayette as follows: "Those who survived that day, and whose lives have been prolonged to the present hour, are now around you. Some of them you have known in the trying scenes of the war. . . . Behold! they raise their trembling voices to invoke the blessing of God on you and yours forever. . . . Illustrious as are your merits, yet far, O, very far distant be the day, when any inscription shall bear your name, or any tongue pronounce its eulogy."

In the very center of Paris, in the grounds of the palace of the Louvre, one sees a commanding equestrian statue (1900). On the base of that statue we read this inscription:

ERECTED BY THE SCHOOL CHILDREN OF THE
UNITED STATES, IN GRATEFUL MEMORY OF
LAFAYETTE, STATESMAN, SOLDIER, PATRIOT

248. Summary. Four chief events marked the period of the presidency of James Monroe. They were: (1) the debate on the extension of slavery west of the Mississippi River, ending in the Missouri Compromise; (2) the pushing forward of the National Road into Ohio, which opened up a large section of the West to emigrants from the Atlantic states; (3) our declaration of the Monroe Doctrine, that Europe must keep her hands off both American continents; (4) the visit of Lafayette.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS (INDEPENDENT DEMOCRAT)

249. John Quincy Adams' Administration (Sixth President, One Term, 1825-1829);¹ Governor Clinton and the Erie Canal. The year that Mr. Adams became President (1825) the Erie Canal was completed by the state of New York. It was the most important public improvement yet made by any state in the Union.

¹ John Quincy Adams, son of President John Adams, was born in Braintree (now Quincy), Massachusetts, in 1767; died, 1848. He was originally a Federalist (§ 203); later, he acted for a time with the Democratic-Republican party (§ 203), though his sympathies were largely with those who eventually organized the Whig party (§ 273), who, like the extinct Federalists, desired to give a broad interpretation to the Constitution (§ 203). The Whigs, led by Henry Clay, favored a protective tariff (that is, a heavy tax imposed on imported goods for the purpose of "protecting" our manufacturers against foreign competition; a revenue tariff is a lighter tax imposed merely to obtain money or revenue for the government). They also favored public improvements—such as the building of roads, canals, and the like—at the expense of the nation, in opposition to the Democratic party, which insisted on a strict interpretation of the Constitution, favored free trade, or a simple revenue tariff, and believed that each state should make its own improvements at its own expense.

John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson were the two leading candidates for the presidency in 1824; both were nominally Democrats, for that was the only party then existing, but Adams, as an independent Democrat, still held certain Federalist principles, while Jackson,

It connected the Hudson River at Troy and Albany with Lake Erie, at Buffalo.

Governor De Witt Clinton of New York carried the great work through. When he proposed it, many denounced and ridiculed the undertaking as a sheer waste of the people's hard-earned money. They nicknamed it "Clinton's Big Ditch." They said



HENRY CLAY

that it never would be completed, that it would swallow up millions in taxes, and in the end yield nothing but mud.

250. How the Canal was built; its Opening. Governor Clinton had indeed put his hand to a stupendous task. Lake Erie is 363 miles west of the Hudson, and it is nearly 600 feet above the level of that river. The country between the Hudson and the lake is in some places rough and broken. There were people in New York who knew these difficulties, and who asked the Governor whether he could make water run uphill. He replied that he

as a man of the people, bitterly opposed them. Neither candidate got a majority of the electoral votes, and the House of Representatives finally chose Mr. Adams President (John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Vice President). Mr. Adams had refused to make any exertion to secure his own election; and when asked by his friend Edward Everett if he did not intend to do something to obtain it, he replied, "I shall do absolutely nothing." It was one of those rare cases in which the office sought the man, and not the man the office.

could do better : he could build locks which would make the water lift the canal boats over the hills.

When all was ready he set his army of laborers at work. They toiled eight years in the wilderness, cutting down forests, digging out the earth, blasting their way through ridges of rock, building aqueduct bridges to carry the canal across rivers, constructing locks of solid masonry to carry it up the hillsides.

In the autumn of 1825 the great undertaking was finished, and, when the water was let in, a row of cannon about five miles apart, extending from Buffalo to New York, flashed the news the whole length of the state. Governor Clinton traveled from Buffalo to Albany by the canal, and thence by the Hudson to New York City. He brought with him a keg of water from Lake Erie. When he reached the city he solemnly poured the water into the harbor to commemorate, as he said, "the navigable communication opened between our Mediterranean seas (meaning our Great Lakes) and the Atlantic Ocean."

251. What the Canal has done for New York and for the Country. The canal has since done far more than Governor Clinton expected. The expense of building it was easily paid by means of a small toll or tax levied by the state on boats and freight. Before the canal was built, the charge for hauling a barrel of flour from Albany to Buffalo was ten dollars, and it took three weeks to get it there. After the canal was opened, a barrel of flour could be sent through in a week, at a cost of thirty cents ! Since its completion to the present time over \$6,000,000,000 worth of freight has been carried on its waters.

The canal originally ran through a country in great part unsettled. It was the means of bringing in great numbers of emigrants from the East. On its banks arose scores of flourishing towns and rapidly growing cities. New York City gained immensely by the trade with the West, which began as soon as this water way was opened. Later, the canal was made free of toll, and from spring to the end of autumn a constant procession of boats laden with grain used to be seen going eastward day and night ; while a similar procession, laden with merchandise, was

seen going westward. This movement was a means of growth and a source of wealth to both sections of the country. On the one hand it made food cheaper all through the East; on the other, it made imported goods cheaper throughout the West.

In order to make the Erie Canal a successful competitor against the railway, which runs parallel with it from Albany to Buffalo, the state of New York is spending over \$100,000,000 in improving it. When the work is completed fleets of steam barges, each carrying a thousand tons of freight, will navigate this great inland water way.



LOCKS AT LOCKPORT ON THE
ERIE CANAL

252. Experiments with "Steam Wagons."

A few years later a work was begun in Maryland which was destined to have greater results even than the Erie Canal. Fulton had shown the world that the steam engine could be successfully used to propel boats (§ 220); the next question was, Is there any reason why the steam engine cannot be put on wheels, and made to propel itself on land? After many experiments and

many failures, George Stephenson invented a "steam wagon," or locomotive, in England, which would draw a train of loaded cars on a track at the rate of ten or fifteen miles an hour. Meanwhile, Oliver Evans and other ingenious American mechanics had been experimenting with "steam wagons" in this country.

253. Breaking Ground for the First Passenger Railway in America. A few years after the completion of the Erie Canal (§ 251) the venerable Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Maryland, performed the ceremony of breaking ground for the construction of a railway from Baltimore westward (1828). The road now forms part of the Baltimore and Ohio railway system. Mr. Carroll, then over ninety years of age, was the only person living who had signed the Declaration of American Independence

(1776). As he struck the spade into the ground with a firm hand, he said, "I consider this among the most important acts of my life, second only to that of signing the Declaration of Independence, if second even to that."

254. The First American Locomotive, 1830; the Railway opened; the Race. The first locomotive which ran over the new railway in 1830 was built at Baltimore by Peter Cooper, since widely known for his noble gift of the Cooper Institute to New York City. His engine had little resemblance to our modern ones, but it drew a rudely constructed open car filled with passengers. The road at first extended only to Ellicott's Mills, about fourteen miles from Baltimore. The trip was made in somewhat less than an hour. On the return, the train had a race with a spirited



STEAM WINS THE RACE

gray horse hitched to a similar car. The gray did his best; the puffing, wheezing little locomotive did its best likewise. Finally, steam conquered; and a great shout of victory went up from the dozen passengers in the car drawn by Peter Cooper's diminutive engine. That shout meant that the days of stagecoaches were numbered.

255. Growth of Railways in the United States; Results. The same year six miles of the Charleston and Augusta Railway were opened; a year later (1831) the Mohawk and Hudson Railway began to carry passengers in New York. In ten years the fourteen miles of track in Maryland had multiplied to nearly 3000 miles in different states. These have since increased to over 220,000 miles, or more than seventy-fold. They form a network of transportation which crosses the continent (§ 370). That network binds

the nation together with bands of steel. It makes every part of our country quickly, cheaply, and easily accessible to every other part. The men of Jefferson's time who lived to see what the railway accomplished, no longer doubted whether the United States could safely extend beyond the Alleghenies (§ 213). Steam convinced



FIRST STEAM TRAIN (1831) ON THE MOHAWK AND HUDSON RAILWAY,
NEW YORK

them that the republic was destined not only to hold the East, but to get possession of the whole of the great West.

256. The Temperance Cause; Drinking Habits in Early Days.

Side by side with this wonderful material advance, the country was now beginning to make progress in moral reforms, especially with respect to temperance. One of the great evils of the times was drunkenness. In the early days of our history the use of liquor was almost universal. A majority of the people drank it every day, and some of them drank it pretty nearly all day.

No well-to-do farmer thought he could get in his hay without a good-sized jug of whisky to refresh himself and his men; no house or church was built without plenty of spirits to help get the timbers into place; no bargain was clinched without the aid of liquor; and no gentleman called on another without being asked to take a social glass.

257. The First Successful Temperance Society; what has been done since. The "American Society for the Promotion of Temperance" was formed in Boston (1826), and a number of years later (1840) six men, who knew the evils of the vice of intemperance from their own sad personal experience, met in Baltimore, signed a total abstinence pledge, and founded the "Washingtonian Temperance Society." That movement did immense good, and

restored many drunkards to the manhood they had lost through drink.¹ A little more than ten years later (1851) Neal Dow persuaded the state of Maine to enact the first prohibition law. It forbade the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors as beverages; but the law has never met with more than partial success.

Since that time several other states tried prohibition for longer or shorter periods. Recently North Dakota, Kansas, Georgia, Alabama, and Oklahoma enacted prohibitory measures. Moreover, so many towns have of late refused to grant liquor licenses that more than half the area of the United States (though not the most densely populated part) is under some kind of prohibition. The results of these efforts will show themselves in due time. "Strong drink" still slays its thousands in the United States as elsewhere; but the young man beginning life now, finds that all the best influences are opposed to intemperance, — once (§ 256) a majority of influences seemed to encourage it.

258. Summary. The presidency of John Quincy Adams was marked by three important events: (1) the completion of the Erie Canal; (2) the building of the first passenger railway in the United States; (3) the first successful attempt at temperance reform.

¹ The first temperance societies did not insist on total abstinence from all alcoholic drinks, but only from the use of distilled spirits such as whisky, brandy, and the like. Later, they required — like the Washingtonians — a pledge of "*total* abstinence from all that can intoxicate"; but they still retained the name of temperance societies, though strictly speaking they had now become total abstinence societies.

VII

"Our Federal Union: *it must be preserved.*" — PRESIDENT JACKSON'S toast at his birthday banquet in Washington, April 30, 1830.

THE NEW DEMOCRACY

ANDREW JACKSON (DEMOCRAT)¹

259. Jackson's Administration (Seventh President, Two Terms, 1829-1837); Character of the New President. Up to this date all the Presidents had been chosen from Virginia or from Massachusetts, and all were known to the country as statesmen of a high order. General Jackson,² "the People's President," came from Tennessee. He had unbounded popularity in all western communities. His military services, and especially his victory over the British at New Orleans (§ 233), had made him famous throughout the United States.

¹ **Reference Books** (Jackson to Buchanan, inclusive). W. Wilson's "Division and Reunion," ch. 1-8; W. C. Bryant and Gay's "United States" (revised edition), IV, 291-434; W. Macdonald's "Jacksonian Democracy"; A. B. Hart's "Slavery and Abolition"; G. P. Garrison's "Westward Extension"; T. C. Clarke's "Parties and Slavery"; F. E. Chadwick's "Causes of the Civil War," ch. 1-17; J. B. McMaster's "United States," V, 523-556, VI; A. B. Hart's "American History by Contemporaries," III, ch. 24-29; IV, ch. 2-7; A. B. Hart's "Source Book," ch. 15-17; J. Schouler's "United States," III, ch. 13; IV, V. See also the classified List of Books in the Appendix.

² Andrew Jackson was of Scotch-Irish descent (§ 92). He was born in 1767, in the Waxhaw Settlement, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, close to the South Carolina boundary line. In his will and elsewhere he speaks of himself as a native of the latter state. He died in 1845. He got his early education rather from the hard, rough, dangerous life of the backwoods than from books and schools. No one could excel him in handling a rifle, or in breaking and riding a wild or vicious horse.

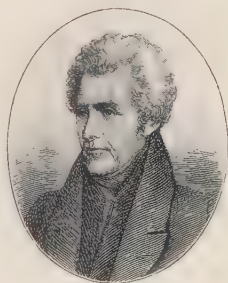
During the Revolution, Jackson, then a lad of fourteen, was taken prisoner by the British, and was nearly starved to death by them. Once the commanding officer ordered him to clean his boots. Young Jackson refused, saying that he was a prisoner of war, and therefore not obliged to perform such acts of drudgery for his captors. The officer, in a rage, struck him with his sword, cutting a gash on the boy's head and another on his hand. Jackson carried the scars of this brutal treatment to his grave.

In 1784 he began the study of law in Salisbury, North Carolina. Four years later he emigrated to Nashville, Tennessee, where he opened a law office. In 1797 he was elected

In character Jackson was headstrong, absolutely honest, and utterly fearless. When he was roused, there was a flash in his gray eyes that startled one like the gleam of a drawn sword. His blunt speech and decided action made many bitter enemies, but he had also many devoted friends. They knew him to be a warm-hearted, true-hearted, high-minded man.

260. President Jackson's "Political Revolution." The new President began his administration with what his Secretary of the Treasury called "a great political revolution." The President's friends demanded government offices. In a short time he turned out about 2000 men from their positions, and gave their places and salaries to those who had voted for him.

Jackson believed the change would be an advantage to the country; but such removals by wholesale had never been made before. During the forty years which had passed since the adoption of the Constitution, the six Presidents who had governed the country had dismissed, at the most, only about 140 persons holding office, and of this small number five were removed because they had stolen public money.



ANDREW JACKSON

261. Jefferson's Removal of Government Officers; the "Spoils System." Jefferson had removed more persons than any previous President (§ 212). His object was to give each political party an equal share of offices. When he had made that division he said that he should ask only three questions respecting an applicant: "Is

United States senator, but soon resigned the office, "partly," says Parton, "because he felt himself out of place in so slow and dignified a body, but chiefly for pecuniary reasons." He was again elected in 1823.

During the War of 1812 Jackson was appointed a general in the regular army, and served the country with distinguished ability. When he fought the British, they found, to their cost, that he had not forgotten how they used him in the Revolution. He also gained great popularity with his men in his battles with the Indians, and his wonderful endurance of hardships got for him the affectionate nickname of "Old Hickory."

In 1828 General Jackson (with John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, for Vice President) was elected President of the United States by the Democratic party, by a large majority over John Quincy Adams, who had then become the National Republican or Whig candidate. In 1832 he was again elected (Martin Van Buren of New York, Vice President) over Henry Clay, the Whig candidate.

he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution?" If the answer was "Yes," that was enough.

When Jackson became President he began, as we have seen, by making sweeping dismissals of the men who did not agree with him in politics. He filled their places with those — and those only — who voted as he thought right. In doing this he intended, as he said, to effect a great "reform"; but his action established the "spoils system,"¹ which Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Benton, and other eminent statesmen denounced.

262. William Lloyd Garrison; Dr. Channing; the Anti-Slavery Movement. The question about filling government offices was pushed out of sight by the greater question about slavery. On New Year's Day, 1831, William Lloyd Garrison, then a "poor, unlearned young man,"² published in Boston the first number of his paper called the *Liberator*. Mr. Garrison was its editor, owner, publisher, printer, and carrier. The *Liberator* demanded the "immediate and unconditional emancipation of every slave held in the United States." Mr. Garrison was resolved to free the negro, even if he had to destroy the Union to do it.³

The Southern planters believed the editor of the new paper had lost his reason; most people at the North agreed with them.⁴ Even many warm friends of the negro thought Mr. Garrison was wholly wrong in his methods. They felt as Dr. Channing did.

¹ "Spoils System": so called because, in 1832, Senator Marcy of New York declared that "to the victors belong the spoils"; or, in other words, that the successful political party in an election has the right to make all it can out of it in the way of offices and salaries.

² See James Russell Lowell's poem "To W. L. Garrison," beginning

"In a small chamber, friendless and unseen,
Toiled o'er his types one poor, unlearned young man."

³ After laboring many years in the cause of emancipation, Mr. Garrison finally came to the conclusion that the Constitution of the United States upheld slavery, and that the dissolution of the Union, by depriving the South of the support of the North, would hasten the liberation of the slaves. In consequence of this conviction, he violently denounced the Constitution (in words taken from Isaiah xxviii. 15) as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." These words were then regularly printed at the top of the *Liberator* until the outbreak of the Civil War, when they were dropped.

⁴ Mr. Garrison said that he found the prejudice and contempt of Northern men harder to deal with than that of the slaveholders. In an address to the public in the first number of the *Liberator* he used these words: "I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and *I will be heard*." See Life of W. L. Garrison, by his children.

That eminent man wrote to Daniel Webster, declaring that we should say to the South, "We consider slavery as your calamity, not your crime; and we will share with you the burden of putting an end to it."¹

263. Insurrection of Slaves in Virginia; Mr. Garrison mobbed in Boston. It so happened that in the summer following the publication of the *Liberator*, a terrible negro insurrection broke out in Virginia. The slaves engaged in it massacred over sixty white men, women, and children. Many Southern people believed that Mr. Garrison's object was to stir up the negroes to rise and murder their masters. There was no truth in the belief, but it powerfully increased the excitement at the South.

In the North, Mr. Garrison's appeals in behalf of the freedom of the blacks roused almost equal excitement. Gangs of "roughs" broke up meetings held to discuss emancipation, and on one occasion a howling mob dragged the editor of the *Liberator* through the streets of Boston with a rope round his body.

These violent outbreaks were not made out of hatred to the negro, but out of fear that Mr. Garrison was putting the country in peril. Many thoughtful men who were opposed to slavery believed that, on the whole, it was better to save the Union with slavery than to deliberately destroy it for the sake of liberating the negro. Daniel Webster held that idea, and so, as we shall see later, did Abraham Lincoln (§ 319 and note to the Proclamation of Emancipation, facing page 303).

264. Formation of Abolition Societies; Petitions to Congress about Slavery; what John Quincy Adams did. Mr. Garrison believed that he was right, and persisted in demanding the emancipation of the slaves, Union or no Union. His influence spread. In a few years nearly 2000 societies had been formed in the North for the abolition of slavery. Then many people began to petition Congress to set free all slaves held in the District of Columbia.

¹ See Dr. W. E. Channing's letter to Daniel Webster (Webster's Works), May 14, 1828. Dr. Channing proposed that the United States should appropriate the money from the sale of the public lands, buy the slaves from their owners, and set them free. Could that have been done, it would have saved us four years of civil war. England bought her West India slaves, and freed them, in 1833, at a cost of one hundred million dollars.

Congress finally resolved not to receive such petitions. Ex-President John Quincy Adams (§ 249), then a member of the House of Representatives, denounced these resolutions as "gag rules," which forbade debate and were contrary to the Constitution.¹ He insisted on presenting every petition that was sent to him, and sometimes offered 200 or more in a single day, amid cries of "Treason!" and yells of "Put him out!" From this period the discussion of slavery never ceased until the North and the South took up arms to settle it on the battlefield.

265. President Jackson puts an End to the Second United States Bank; Removal of the Deposits. While the great question of emancipation was being hotly debated, Jackson was attacking the United States Bank (§ 202) which had been reëstablished (1816). He believed, as did Senator Benton of Missouri,² that it was badly managed and unsafe. For these reasons he refused to sign a bill³ (1832) to renew the right of the bank to continue business. This refusal soon closed the bank.

The year following this action the President removed nearly \$10,000,000 of the public money which the government had kept in the bank. This amount, with about \$30,000,000 more, was deposited later (1836) in a number of small banks (nicknamed "pet banks") in the different states. Speculators borrowed large sums of this government money and used it to buy land; their course excited others, and soon people all over the country were crazy with wild schemes for getting suddenly rich.

266. South Carolina resists the Tariff taxing Imported Goods. The South was at this time strongly opposed to having heavy duties or taxes imposed on goods brought into the United States. We have seen (§ 241) that the reason for this opposition was

¹ On the right of the people to petition the government, see Amendments to the Constitution, Article I; but compare the right of Congress to make rules for its proceedings (Constitution, Article I, Section 5).

² Colonel Thomas H. Benton was one of the most decided opponents of the bank. He thought paper money was unsafe, and urged Congress to adopt gold and silver currency instead of bank bills. His able speeches on this subject of "hard money" got for him the nickname of "Old Bullion."

³ Bill: a law proposed by Congress; except in certain cases, it requires the President's signature to make it complete. When he returns a bill unsigned he is said to *veto* it. See the Constitution, Article I, Section 7.

that the people of the South had never established manufactories in any number, and therefore had to buy their woolen and cotton cloth either from the northern states, where large quantities were made, or from Europe. As labor was cheaper in Europe than in this country, the wealthy mill owners in England could afford to make cloth, send it to the United States, and sell it at a much lower price than it could be made here. Henry Clay, a member of Congress from Kentucky (§ 243), was particularly anxious to make the American producers and manufacturers independent of Europe. He succeeded in establishing high protective tariffs (1824, 1828, 1832). These tariffs levied a heavy duty or tax on many imported goods and so protected the American manufacturer of cotton, woolen, iron, and other goods against all foreign competitors.¹ Finally, South Carolina resolved to resist these duties.

267. John C. Calhoun; Nullification; Preparations for War. John C. Calhoun² of South Carolina, who was then Vice President, protested against this "Tariff of Abominations," as he called it. He asserted that it compelled the South to pay such a price for cloth and other goods that the people were constantly growing poorer, while the Northern manufacturers, on the other hand, were getting rich at their expense. He therefore demanded free trade. To this the North answered that free trade would ruin the factory

¹ From the outset a division of opinion existed in regard to the power of the government to levy duties. The Democrats generally contended that, strictly interpreted, the Constitution did not give Congress authority to impose duties beyond what would be sufficient to defray the expenses of the government and furnish money for the payment of the national debt. This party demanded simply a Revenue Tariff. The Federalists and Whigs generally held that the Constitution gave Congress the right to levy duties not only for revenue but also to encourage the production of goods at home, as opposed to their purchase from foreign producers. These two parties (and later the Republican party) advocated a Protective Tariff. Such a tariff was imposed in 1816, 1824, 1828, 1832, and 1842. In 1846, and until the beginning of the Civil War, we maintained what was practically a Revenue Tariff. During the war heavy duties became the rule. Later, they were considerably reduced, but in 1890 and 1897 the Republicans enacted very high Protective Tariffs.

² John C. Calhoun, born in Abbeville district, South Carolina, 1782; died 1850. Like Jackson, he was of Scotch-Irish descent (§ 92). He entered Congress in 1810. He was elected Vice President in 1824 and in 1828. In 1832 he resigned his office, and was chosen United States senator. He was at first a supporter of a protective tariff, but later became a strong advocate of free trade. He was one of the few leading men who taught that slavery is "a positive good," an advantage alike to the negro and to his owner. His nature was "as great as it was pure." Webster, his chief political opponent, said of him that nothing "low or meanly selfish came near the head or the heart of Mr. Calhoun."

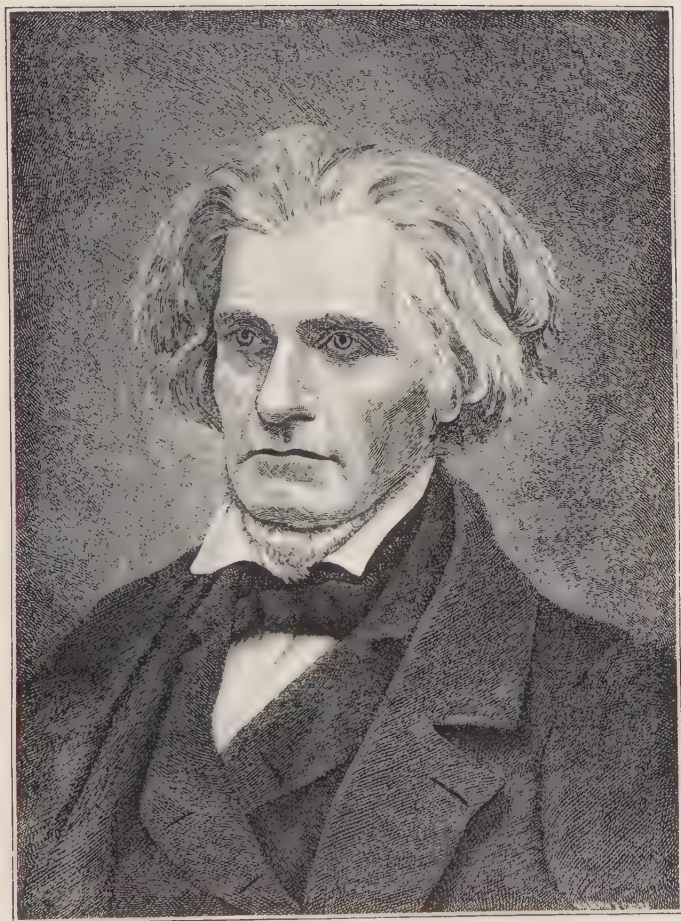
owners and compel them to close their factories. Congress refused to abolish the protective tariff.

Calhoun told the people of South Carolina that the tariff law was contrary to the Constitution of the United States. He said that they ought to refuse to obey it (§ 210). They took his advice, and held a state convention at which they declared that (after February 1, 1833) they would not pay duties on goods imported into Charleston from Europe. This refusal was called *nullification*. In Charleston preparations were made to resist the collection of the duty. Governor Hayne, of South Carolina, threatened that if the government used force, his state would secede from the Union and declare itself independent.

268. Webster's Reply to Hayne and Calhoun; what we owe to Webster. When, in the Senate of the United States, Governor Hayne (1830) boldly upheld the right of nullification (§ 267), Daniel Webster¹ replied to him, closing with the well-known words: "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable." Later, when Calhoun in the United States Senate defended the right of secession, Webster made a powerful speech, in which he declared that "there can be no secession without revolution." He saw that if a state is resolved to leave the Union, the national government, sword in hand, must insist that it shall remain in its place and obey the laws.

We owe an immense debt to Webster's commanding eloquence on this subject. In the remarkable series of speeches which he delivered at this period (1830-1833), he made Americans realize the inestimable value and sacredness of the Union as they had never felt it before. Thirty years later when the Civil War threatened to destroy the nation, the reverence for the Constitution and the Union with which that great statesman had inspired so many

¹ Daniel Webster, born at Salisbury, New Hampshire, 1782 (see note to § 92); died at his residence at Marshfield, near Boston, 1852. He graduated at Dartmouth College, and began the practice of law in 1805. In 1812 he was elected to Congress, and again in 1822. From this time forward he was constantly in public life, as representative, senator, or in the cabinet. He was unquestionably the greatest orator this country has produced, and as a statesman he stood second to none. His defense of the Union in his second reply to Hayne, January 26-27, 1830, has been called "the most remarkable speech ever made in the American Congress." Webster's "Reply to Calhoun" was delivered February 16, 1833.



JOHN C. CALHOUN

hearts, made thousands willing to die to save it. The North and the South are now one. Discord has passed away, and as brothers we join in honoring the memory of Daniel Webster for his services to our common country.

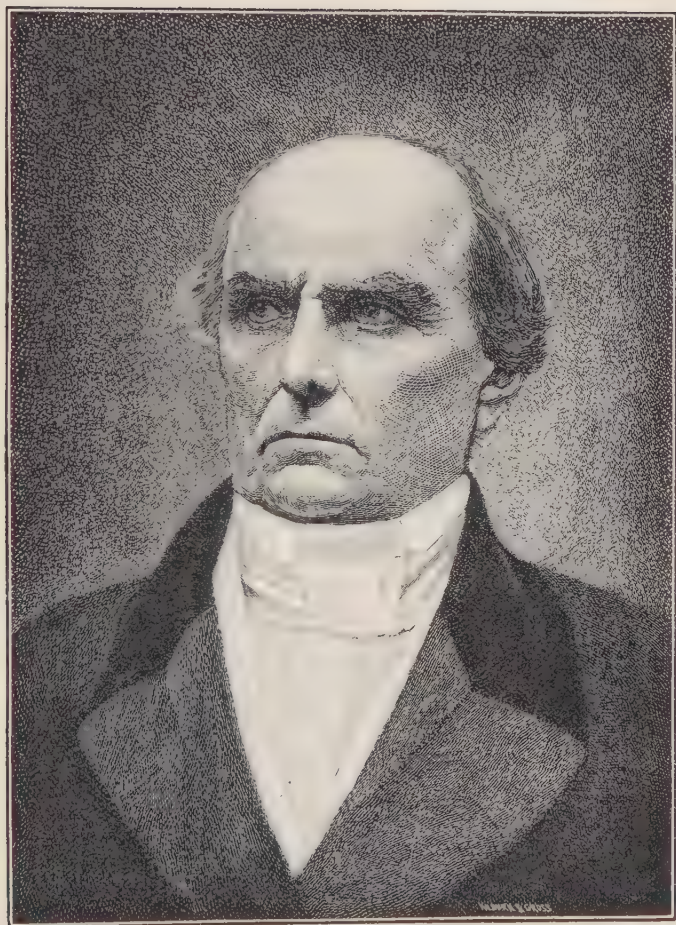
269. Jackson's Fidelity to the Union; his Orders to General Scott; Henry Clay obtains a New Tariff. President Jackson had the same feeling that Webster had of the necessity of preserving the Union. He did not like the protective tariff as it then stood (§ 267), but he resolved to enforce it so long as it remained law. He saw that what was called the doctrine of "State Sovereignty," that is, the so-called right of a state to decide for itself when it would obey Congress and when it would not (§§ 210, 267), was destructive of all national government.

The Union, said he, is at present like a bag of meal with both ends open. Whichever way you try to handle it you will spill the meal. "I must tie the bag and save the country."

So saying, the President ordered General Scott (1832) to go forthwith to Charleston and enforce the law. It was done, and the duties on imported goods in that city were collected as usual.

A few months later (1833) Henry Clay, the "great compromiser and peacemaker" (§ 243), succeeded in getting Congress to adopt a new tariff which gradually reduced the duties or taxes on foreign goods. This change of policy pacified South Carolina and that state said nothing more about nullification (§ 267). At that time we were very prosperous and did not owe a dollar of public debt.

270. Growth of the Country; Extension of Canals and Railways; Use of Coal; the Express System. With the exception of a very destructive fire in New York City (1835), Jackson's presidency was a period of rapid growth for the entire country, but especially for the West. New canals had been opened (§ 249), lines of steamboats had been established on the principal western rivers and on all the Great Lakes (§ 220), and the whistle of the locomotive was beginning to be heard beyond the Alleghenies (§§ 254, 255). Arkansas and the rapidly growing territory of Michigan were admitted to the Union (1836-1837), making twenty-six states in all.



DANIEL WEBSTER

Both hard and soft coal¹ had been found in immense quantities in Pennsylvania, and they were now coming into use for manufacturing. These coal mines have been worth more to the country than all the gold mines of California.

The increased activity of the country, in connection with steamboats and railways, gave rise to a new enterprise. A young man named Harnden² conceived the plan of making a business of carrying parcels between Boston and New York, and shortly after (1839) began it. At first a small hand bag was sufficient to hold all the articles sent. In that humble way he laid the foundation of the American express system, which now extends to every town

of the United States, and employs millions of money and an army of men to do its work.

271. Indian Wars; Growth of the West; Chicago. The increased growth of the country alarmed Black Hawk, a famous Indian chief at the West, and he (1832), at the head of



INDIANS ATTACKING EMIGRANTS IN THE WEST

a large body of Indians, attempted to prevent emigrants from taking possession of public lands in the state of Illinois and the territories of Iowa and Wisconsin. He was defeated and driven beyond the Mississippi. This greatly encouraged emigration to the western states and territories.

Shortly after this the second Seminole War began (1835) in Florida (§ 238). The Indians were led by Osceola, a celebrated chief, who had been badly treated by the whites. The war lasted

¹ Hard or anthracite coal was not discovered until 1790. The first load taken to Philadelphia, in 1803, was used as stone to mend roads.

² William Frederick Harnden was born in Reading, Massachusetts, in 1813; died 1845. On his monument, erected at Mount Auburn cemetery, near Boston, by the "Express Companies of the United States," he is called the "Founder of the Express Business in America."

nearly seven years. The Indians were defeated by Colonel Zachary Taylor ; they were finally conquered, and all but a few were sent west of the Mississippi by General Worth.

On the southwestern shore of Lake Michigan stood Fort Dearborn. A struggling slab village was growing up on the mud flats around it. Two years later (1833), the little settlement took the name of Chicago. It had then become a lively town of between five and six hundred inhabitants, and some of its people were bold enough to think



CHICAGO IN 1833

that it might grow to be still larger. To-day the population of "Greater Chicago" is estimated at about 2,500,000. It stands the great metropolis of the Northwest.



CHICAGO TO-DAY

272. American Art, Books, and Newspapers. America had already produced five eminent painters — West, Copley, Stuart, Trumbull, and Allston. We also had three noted writers. They were Cooper, the novelist, who wrote exciting tales of life on the sea and in the wilderness ; Bryant, our first great poet ; and Washington Irving, the author of "Rip Van Winkle" and of many more delightful stories.

But when Jackson was first elected a book had just been published (1828) in this country which was in one respect more remarkable than any that had yet appeared, for it contained the

whole English language.¹ This was Webster's Dictionary, by Noah Webster of Connecticut. It had cost the author and compiler nearly twenty years of labor, and it made his name and work known in every schoolhouse of the United States.

Following Webster came the poets Whittier, Longfellow, Holmes, Lowell, and Poe; Emerson, with his wonderful essays on nature; Hawthorne, with his stories of New England; Audubon, with his magnificent work on the "Birds of America"; Bancroft, with his history of the United States, followed by the historians Prescott, Motley, and Parkman. It was the beginning of American literature.²

About the same time (1833) the New York *Sun*, the first cheap American newspaper ever published, which sold for one cent, appeared in New York. From that time forward the poorest man could afford to carry home in his pocket at night a daily history of the world's doings.

273. Henry Clay and the Whigs. During Jackson's administration a new political party called Whigs came into existence. They vehemently opposed Jackson's measures and favored the continuance of the United States Bank.

Henry Clay (§§ 243, 269), the leader of the new party, had a strong desire to become President. He hoped that the votes of the Whigs would elect him.

274. Summary. Six important events marked the administration of Andrew Jackson. They were: (1) the beginning of the system of removals from government offices for political reasons; (2) the commencement of the anti-slavery movement by William

¹ The best English dictionary before Webster's was Dr. Samuel Johnson's, first published in London in 1755. It had not really been revised for seventy years, and was very unsatisfactory to Americans, since it did not contain many familiar American words, such as "congress" (in the sense of a national legislature), "savings bank," "prairie," and hundreds of others. Webster thought that America had as good a right to coin new words as England had. He accordingly included these words in his dictionary; in his definitions he was generally far superior to Johnson.

² For interesting examples of poems connected with American history, see Whittier's "Laus Deo," "Our State," and the "Song of the Kansas Emigrant"; Longfellow's "Paul Revere's Ride"; Holmes' "Grandmother's Story of Bunker Hill"; Lowell's "Present Crisis," "Jonathan to John," "Commemoration Ode, 1865"; Emerson's "Concord Hymn"; and Bryant's "Song of Marion's Men," and Joaquín Miller's "Columbus."

Lloyd Garrison; (3) the overthrow of the United States Bank; (4) the dispute over the protective tariff, and the "nullification" of acts of Congress by South Carolina; (5) the rise of the Whig party; (6) Indian wars in the West and South; (7) the rise of American literature and of cheap newspapers.

MARTIN VAN BUREN¹

275. Van Buren's Administration (Eighth President, One Term, 1837-1841); Business Failures; Financial Panic. In his farewell address, President Jackson had said, "I leave this great people prosperous and happy." But Mr. Van Buren had scarcely entered upon the duties of his office when a large business house in New Orleans failed (1837). It was the beginning of a panic in trade and money matters which swept over the country like the waters of a destroying flood.

In ten days one hundred merchants in New York City had lost everything; and within two months the total business failures in that city reached \$100,000,000. Next, the banks began to fail; and the difficulty of getting gold or silver became so great that even the United States government had to pay the army and navy in paper money, which, if it chanced to be good to-day, might be worthless to-morrow. John Quincy Adams (§ 249) declared that, "without a dollar of national debt, we are in the midst of national bankruptcy."

276. Stoppage of Trade; Distress among Workmen; Failures of States; Causes of the Panic. Soon factories and mills stopped running, and nearly all trade came to a standstill. Thousands of workmen were suddenly thrown out of employment, and saw no way of earning bread for themselves and their families.

Many states had borrowed large sums of money in Europe for the purpose of building roads, canals, and railways. In seven

¹ Martin Van Buren was born in New York in 1782; died in 1862. He was United States senator from 1821-1828, governor of New York later, and Secretary of State under Jackson, 1829-1831. In 1836 he was elected President (R. M. Johnson of Kentucky, Vice President) by the Democratic party, over General W. H. Harrison, the Whig candidate.

years the total debt of this kind had risen from \$13,000,000 to nearly \$200,000,000. It was exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, for a number of these states¹ to raise money to meet the interest; and one state positively refused to pay anything whatever, whether interest or principal. This desperate state of things had three chief causes.

1. Jackson's successful attack on the second United States Bank (§ 265) encouraged the establishment of a great number of worthless state banks, especially in the West.

2. People borrowed large sums of paper money from these state banks and bought immense tracts of government land at high prices. Some of the land was in the backwoods of Maine, and some of it consisted of town lots in so-called western "cities." These "cities" often had no existence except on plans shown by speculators, or they were perhaps six feet under water.

3. The national government suddenly called in the gold and silver which it had deposited in certain state banks, nicknamed "pet banks" (§ 265), and refused to sell any more public land except for hard cash. This condition of things made every one anxious to get coin at a time when it was not to be had.

The result was that property of all kinds fell in price, men could neither collect debts nor pay them, the state banks could not get specie to redeem their bills, and the crash came. After a time confidence began to be restored, business sprang up, and a new period of prosperity commenced.

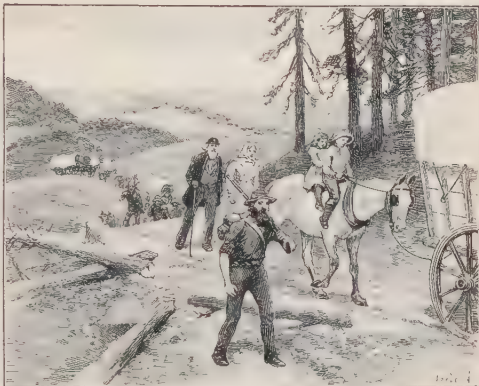
277. The Government establishes an Independent Treasury. This panic in business had at least one good result. Up to this time the national government had never taken entire charge of its own money, but had let one or more banks have the care of it. The disastrous failure of these "pet banks" (§ 276) taught Congress a lesson; and the United States opened (1840) an independent treasury at Washington, with branches, known as

¹ Seven states — Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Florida, then a territory — suspended payment of interest. Mississippi repudiated her entire debt on the ground that it had been incurred in violation of the state constitution. Sydney Smith's "Letters on American Debts," Dickens' "American Notes" and "Martin Chuzzlewit" show how sore the English creditors felt about these failures.

subtreasuries,¹ in the chief cities. The experiment was given up the next year, but later (1846) this system was permanently established. In this way the government was protected against loss.

278. Rise of the Mormons; Nauvoo. While Van Buren was President a new religious community, called Mormons, settled in Illinois. Its founder was Joseph Smith, a native of Vermont.² While living in New York he declared that an angel from heaven gave him a number of golden plates, like sheets of tin, on which a new scripture was written called the "Book of Mormon."³

Smith went to Ohio, to Missouri, and, finally, to Illinois, where he and his followers, the "Latter Day Saints" or Mormons, built the "Holy City" of Nauvoo, or the "Beautiful City," on the banks of



EMIGRATION OF THE MORMONS

the Mississippi. Smith said that God told him that every true Mormon marriage would last forever, and he urged every good Mormon to marry more than one wife. Those, said he, who keep this law will, in the next world, "pass by the angels" in glory.⁴

¹ Subtreasuries: from the Latin word *sub*, meaning "under"; hence subordinate, or smaller treasuries. The chief treasury is in the Treasury Building at Washington; the subtreasuries are in (1) New York, (2) Philadelphia, (3) Chicago, (4) Boston, (5) St. Louis, (6) Cincinnati, (7) San Francisco, (8) New Orleans, (9) Baltimore.

² Joseph Smith was born in 1805 in Sharon, Vermont, and was murdered at Carthage, Illinois, in 1844. He said that the Book of Mormon was written in an unknown tongue, but that the angel provided him with a peculiar kind of glasses by which to read and translate it. The Mormons declare, "We believe the Bible to be the Word of God, so far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the Word of God."

³ Mormon: a name derived from that of the alleged writer of the Book of Mormon, a Jew, who, as the Mormons believe, lived in this country about a thousand years before Columbus discovered it.

⁴ This doctrine (see the Mormon "Book of Covenants and Doctrine") was not fully published to the world until 1852. One branch of the Mormons—the "Josephites"—deny that Smith ever taught the doctrine, but say it was invented by Brigham Young and others.

Shortly after this, several persons who had belonged to the Mormons began publishing a paper in Nauvoo, in which they accused Smith of leading an evil life. Smith broke up the paper. For this he was arrested, and while in jail at Carthage (1844) was shot by a mob who had no faith in him or his religion.

279. Emigration of the Mormons to Utah; what they have accomplished there. Brigham Young of Vermont—a man as keen-sighted in the things of this world as it was said Smith had been in those of the other—now became leader of the Mormons; but the people around Nauvoo forced the “Saints” to leave, and cross the Mississippi. Young started for the Far West (1847), and, with about a hundred and fifty followers, reached Salt Lake, in territory then belonging to Mexico, but which is now the state of Utah. Later, he led a much larger number of Mormon emigrants to the same place. It was a journey of 1500 miles through the wilderness. The country bordering on the lake was a desert.

The hunters of that desolate region predicted that the Mormons would starve. But Young set his company to work digging ditches to bring water from the mountains; every street in the village had two of these ditches running through the length of it, one on each side. The abundant supply of water soon made the dead, dry soil green with waving crops of wheat and corn. It was an object lesson in irrigation which has been of inestimable value in many parts of the West (§ 430, No. 3). Industry transformed the desert into a garden. Since then the Mormons have prospered. Many non-Mormons, attracted by the climate, have taken residence there. The village of Salt Lake has grown to be a flourishing city. The Mormons finally gave up their peculiar forms of marriage (§ 278) and Utah entered the Union (1896).

280. Emigration to the United States; Ocean Steamships and American “Clipper Ships”; Growth of the West. Before the Mormons had started for the Far West an immense emigration from Europe to the United States began.

Up to that date (1840) the total number of immigrants that had landed here since the Revolution was probably less than a million. But in the course of the next ten years (1840–1850) the

terrible potato famine in Ireland and the "hard times" in Germany drove hundreds of thousands to seek our shores. This great stream of immigrants has never ceased, and some years it has averaged more than 20,000 newcomers a week!

Of late years the majority of those who come are Italians, Russians, and Polish Jews. In all, more than 20,000,000 foreigners have settled in the United States since the government began to keep count (1820). This enormous number includes a host of Swedes and Norwegians, who have become western farmers; while people coming from other parts of Europe have helped to build our railways, develop our coal and iron mines, and work in our cotton and woolen mills.

For many years we kept the door of America wide open. We asked no one where he came from. We asked him nothing about his health, his character, or his intentions. We simply took him by the hand and said, "Come in!" But after a time we determined (1882) to exclude the Chinese and certain classes of white workingmen (1887), because we believed that their cheap labor would bring down the wages of our own laboring men (§ 382). Later (1907), we excluded the Japanese for the same reason.

Now we go further than that. We still give the heartiest of welcomes to all who can help us make our country stronger and better. But to those who come to America to beg, to steal, to make trouble, or who would in any way do us more harm than good, we say, "Keep out!" — and we mean what we say.¹

During the first part of the period we have been describing (1840-1850) a very great change took place in ocean navigation. The Cunard Company of Liverpool established the first regular line of ocean steamers in the world (§ 220), and Americans began to build superb "clipper ships" for the Atlantic and Asiatic trade. These wonderful vessels (which, after a while, were superseded by ships built of iron, and then by steamers built of steel) far surpassed all others in beauty and speed.

¹ Besides the Chinese, Japanese, and alien labor immigrants, our laws now shut out lunatics, idiots, criminals, professional beggars, anarchists, those who have dangerous and loathsome diseases, those who cannot earn their bread, and other objectionable and undesirable persons.

In time both "clippers" and steamers helped to greatly increase immigration to our shores. The multitudes who came to America by these vessels made the West grow "by leaps and bounds."



A TWENTIETH-CENTURY OCEAN STEAMER

To-day a single one of these huge steamships, some of which exceed 30,000 tons burden, often brings more than 2000 immigrants.

281. Summary. This period began with a disastrous panic in trade by which great numbers were ruined; it was followed by the establishment by the government of the independent treasury system; then came the vastly increased emigration from Europe to the United States, the establishment of lines of European steamships on the Atlantic, and the building of American "clipper ships." Meanwhile the great Mormon movement to Utah began.

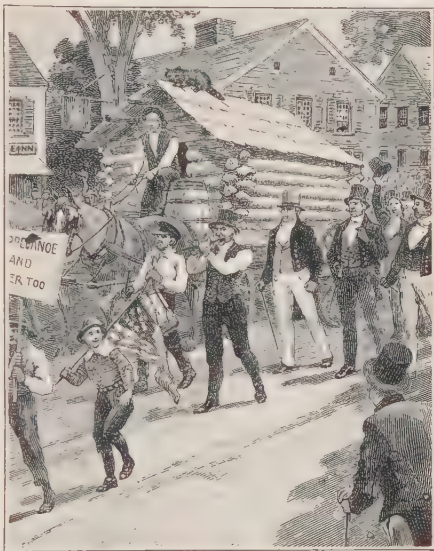
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON (WHIG); JOHN TYLER (DEMOCRAT)

282. Harrison and Tyler's Administrations (Ninth and Tenth Presidents, One Term, 1841-1845); how Harrison was elected; his Death. General Harrison,¹ "the hero of Tippecanoe" (§ 225), was elected President amidst the wildest excitement. Ever since the election of Jefferson (1800), or for forty years, the Democrats

¹ William Henry Harrison was born in Virginia in 1773. His father, Benjamin Harrison, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. From 1801 to 1813 Harrison was governor of what was then the territory of Indiana. In 1811 he defeated the Indians in a great battle at Tippecanoe, Indiana (§ 225). During the War of 1812 he was appointed a major general in the regular army. Later, he returned to his farm at North Bend, on the Ohio, near Cincinnati. In 1840 he was elected President (John Tyler, a Democrat of Virginia, Vice President) by the Whig party, by an immense majority over Van Buren, the Democratic candidate.

had carried the day; now their opponents, the Whigs,¹ were victors. Harrison was then living on his farm, in a clearing on the banks of the Ohio.

He was popularly known as "the Log-Cabin candidate." The farmers of the West gathered to his support with a will. They had monster outdoor meetings, and processions miles long, in which a log cabin on wheels was always a conspicuous object, with its live coon fastened on the roof, and its barrel of hard cider standing handy by the open door. The enthusiasm increased more and more as election day drew near. The rousing song of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" stirred the blood of all true Whigs, and with shouts of exultation they sent the occupant of the Ohio log cabin to reside in the White House at Washington.



HARRISON'S ELECTION

A month later President Harrison died, and the joy of his friends was suddenly changed into mourning. Vice President Tyler, who was practically a Democrat,² now became President;³

¹ The Whigs (§ 273) wished (1) to have the government carry on the building of canals, roads, and other internal improvements; (2) to protect manufactures by a high tariff; (3) to reëstablish the United States Bank, and part of the Whigs wished to restrict the extension of slavery. The Democrats held that each state should make its own improvements; that free trade was better than protection; that an independent treasury was better than a United States Bank; and that the slavery question should be left to the people of the different states.

² Tyler was in most respects a Democrat, though he had acted, to some extent, with the Whigs. The Whigs nominated him to the vice presidency in order to secure Southern votes, and thus make sure of electing Harrison.

³ In case of the death of the President, the Constitution provides that the Vice President shall succeed him. See the Constitution, Article II, Section 1, Paragraph 6; also the Presidential Succession Act (§ 392).

and he and the Whig Congress were soon engaged in a series of hopeless political quarrels.

283. The Dorr Rebellion; the Webster-Ashburton Treaty; the Anti-Renters. In Rhode Island the right to vote was confined to persons holding real estate, and to their eldest sons. Newport, where there were many landholders, had six representatives in the state legislature, while Providence, with a population nearly three times as great, had only four. The party in favor of reform finally framed a new constitution, and elected (1842) Thomas W. Dorr for governor. The opposite or state government party, headed by Governor King, denied Dorr's right to hold office. Both sides took up arms, but no blood was shed and nobody was hurt. Dorr was arrested and thrown into prison, but was released a few years later, and lived to see his party successful in the reform they had attempted.

The same year (1842) Daniel Webster, representing the United States, and Lord Ashburton, representing Great Britain, settled the question of the boundary between Maine and Canada, by an agreement known as the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. The dispute in regard to the true line between the two countries had been very bitter, and the friendly settlement of the controversy was of the greatest advantage to both England and America. Furthermore, this treaty fixed our northern boundary between the Lake of the Woods (Minnesota) and the Rocky Mountains at the 49th parallel. (Map, p. 360.)

At the same time Mr. Webster declared that in future England must understand that our flag would protect American vessels against Great Britain's so-called "right of search" (§§ 226, 233).

In New York the tenants of the Van Rensselaer family, on the Hudson (§ 61), refused to pay rent for their farms, on the ground that the Revolution had swept away the old Dutch methods of letting land. It became necessary to call out a military force to protect the sheriff in his attempts to collect the rents; finally a political party was formed (1843), favoring the anti-renters, as they were called, and a change was made (1846) in the state constitution for their benefit.

284. The Electric Telegraph, 1844; Dr. Morton's Discovery.

Two years later, 1844, travelers from Baltimore to Washington saw a force of men engaged in putting up several lines of copper wire on a row of lofty poles extending between the two cities. It was the first telegraph line erected in the United States, or in the world. After four years of weary waiting, Professor Morse,¹ the inventor of the telegraph, had at length got a grant of \$30,000 from Congress for the purpose of proving that a message could be sent by electricity a distance of forty miles!

On the morning of May 24, 1844, Professor Morse took his seat at the telegraph instrument placed in the Supreme Court Room in the Capitol. Many of the chief officers of the government were present. The professor pressed the key of the instrument with his finger. In an instant the waiting operator at Baltimore received the message, and it was sent back to the Capitol. Here it is:

W	h	a	t		h	a	t	h		G	O	D
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
w	r	o	u	g	h	t.						

In a minute of time these words had traversed a circuit of eighty miles. When they were read in the Court Room a thrill of awe ran through those who reverently listened; it seemed as though the finger of God, not man, had written the message.

Professor Morse's success was complete. He predicted that some day lines of telegraph would not only stretch in all directions over the land, but would be laid at the bottom of the sea between Europe and America. The telegraph accomplished all that he prophesied and more, for in time it not only crossed the Atlantic (1866) (§ 367), but the Pacific as well (1902) (§ 428).

We shall see (§ 373) that more than thirty years later (1876) the telegraph was supplanted, in a measure, by the telephone.

¹ Samuel F. B. Morse was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1791; died in New York, 1872. He became an artist, and, in 1830, Professor of the Literature of the Arts of Design in the University of the City of New York. He conceived the idea of the electric telegraph in 1832. Later, his associate, Mr. Alfred Vail of New Jersey, rendered very important services in perfecting the work. See *Century Magazine*, April, 1888.

² The characters over the printed letters represent the letters of the telegraphic alphabet. The words are quoted from the Bible; Numbers xxiii. 23.

Meanwhile (1871), at a celebration held in New York in honor of Professor Morse, the original instrument invented by him was exhibited, connected, at that moment, by wire, with every one of the ten thousand instruments then in use in this country. At a signal, a message from the inventor was sent vibrating throughout the United States, and was simultaneously read in every city and in most towns of the republic, from New York to New Orleans, from New Orleans to San Francisco.



ERECTING THE FIRST TELEGRAPH
LINE

Professor Morse died the next year (1872). A little more than twenty years after his death a new form of telegraph began to come into use. It was invented by Marconi, an Italian. It sends its messages directly through the air without the use of wires, and so is called the "Wireless Telegraph" (§ 428). It is chiefly employed by steamships and naval vessels, to communicate with each other or with certain stations on the land.

Thought had conquered space ; it was to make its next conquest in a wholly different direction. While Professor Morse was building the first telegraph line, Dr. W. T. G. Morton of Boston, acting on the suggestion of Dr. Charles T. Jackson, was endeavoring to produce artificial sleep by the breathing of the vapor of ether. He believed that, if successful, all suffering under the surgeon's knife would be at an end. He did succeed ; and the great fact was made known to the world at the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston (1846). As the inscription on Dr. Morton's monument truthfully declares : " Before that discovery, surgery was agony ; since, science has controlled pain." ¹

¹ Dr. Horace Wells, of Hartford, began to make use (1844) of nitrous oxide gas as an anæsthetic in the extraction of teeth. Between 1820 and 1846 there were invented in this

285. Our Third Step in National Expansion, the Annexation of Texas. The great political question of the times was the admission of Texas. Many years before this period Stephen F. Austin, General Sam Houston, and other Americans had settled in that country, — then a part of Mexico, — and had finally, by force of arms, made it an independent republic. The republic of Texas now asked to be annexed to the United States. (Map, p. 334.)

A powerful party at the South was anxious to obtain it for the purpose of making a number of new slave states out of it, and thus maintaining their influence in Congress.¹ The Anti-Slavery party at the North strongly opposed the annexation;² but Congress, after much debate, decided to make it. It was our third step in expansion (§§ 215, 238). Thus (March 1, 1845) we obtained a territory so vast that, as Daniel Webster said, a bird could not fly over it in a week, — a territory large enough to make nearly five countries the size of England, or more than that number of states, each larger than New York. Texas, however, was not admitted to the Union until after the next President came into office (§ 287) (December 29, 1845).

286. Summary. The principal events of the Harrison and Tyler administrations were: (1) the death of the President; followed (2) by the Webster-Ashburton Treaty; (3) the Dorr Rebellion; (4) the opening of the first line of electric telegraph in the United States or the world; (5) the use of ether in surgery; and (6) the annexation of Texas.

country: (1) Blanchard's Eccentric Lathe for turning gunstocks and other irregular forms; (2) McCormick's Reaper and Mower and Hussey's Reaper and Mower; (3) Colt's Revolver; (4) Ericsson's Screw Propeller; (5) Goodyear's Hard Rubber goods; (6) Hoe's Steam Printing Press; (7) Howe's Sewing Machine. The following inventions came from abroad: (1) Knitting Machines; (2) Planing Machines (greatly improved in 1828 by Woodworth); (3) Friction Matches, 1836 (gas had been introduced in 1822); (4) the Steam Fire Engine, 1841, but not brought into practical use until much later; (5) the Daguerreotype and Photograph, 1843; (6) the Diving Dress, 1843. On earlier American inventions, see §§ 205, 220, 252.

¹ By the Missouri Compromise (§ 243) slavery could not be extended west of the Mississippi, outside of Missouri, north of 36° 30' (the southern boundary of Missouri). Unless, therefore, the South got more territory annexed southwest of the Mississippi, the North would soon have the chief power in Congress.

² James Russell Lowell's fine poem, "The Present Crisis," expresses the feeling of the Anti-Slavery party at this time.

JAMES K. POLK (DEMOCRAT)

287. Polk's Administration (Eleventh President, One Term, 1845-1849); the Question of the Possession of Oregon. Congress had annexed Texas (§ 285), and when Mr. Polk¹ entered office the first question was, what should be done about Oregon. We claimed the whole country west of the Rocky Mountains, north of California (then a part of Mexico), to Alaska; that is, from parallel 42° to 54° 40'. Our claim rested on: (1) Captain Gray's discovery of the Columbia River (1792) (§ 216); (2) Lewis and Clark's exploration (1805-1806) (§ 216); (3) settlements begun by



WHITMAN'S JOURNEY TO OREGON

Astor (1811) (§ 216); (4) our treaty with Spain (1819) (§ 238). (Map, p. 194.) But England insisted that the northern part of Oregon, including the Columbia River, belonged to her; and the English Hudson Bay Company wanted to keep the whole region a wilderness where it could hunt wild ani-

mals for the fur trade. Great Britain and the United States had long held the disputed territory by a treaty of joint occupation.

288. Dr. Whitman's Journey to Oregon. Dr. Marcus Whitman of New York did some good work in Oregon and for Oregon. He went out as missionary to the Indians at Walla Walla on the Columbia nine years before President Polk entered office.

He went out with a wagon in which he took his bride. The English, who were alarmed at this resolute attempt of Dr. Whitman's

¹ James K. Polk was born in North Carolina, 1795; died, ^{*}1849. He emigrated with his father to Tennessee in 1806, and was elected governor of that state in 1839. In 1844 he was elected President by the Democrats (George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania, Vice President), over Henry Clay, the Whig candidate.

to open up a passage on wheels to the country they coveted, told him that his wagon would be broken to splinters in crossing the mountains. Whitman and his young wife persisted in going on. After many formidable upsets they reached their destination, but the wagon was so badly used up that it had to be left at Fort Boisé (now Boisé City, Idaho).

289. Dr. Whitman's Journey to the East; Our Fourth Step in National Expansion; how we got Oregon; the Treaty. Six years later (1842) Dr. Whitman started for the East to get help for his mission and to persuade emigrants to go out to Oregon. It was a journey of between three and four thousand miles, and the doctor's sufferings on the way were terrible. He had to face winter storms in the mountains, the terrors of starvation and of attacks by Indians. But his indomitable will kept him up and in five months he reached Boston.

A small band of emigrants had already gone out, and the next spring (1843) a second company, numbering about a thousand, started for the Columbia. Their determination was to found a new state on the Pacific coast. Dr. Whitman went as guide to the advance party of this great emigration. By his help they reached the land they were seeking.¹ These men, with those who followed, saved Oregon. By the time that Polk became President we had such a strong hold on the territory that the cry in 1846 was, "The British must go" — "The whole of Oregon, or none" — "Fifty-four-forty, or fight!"² But later in the same year (1846) the United States and Great



MAP OF OREGON

¹ See H. H. Bancroft's "Oregon," I, ch. 15; Blaine's "Congress," I, 55; Benton's "Thirty Years' View," II, 469; E. G. Bourne's Historical Essays; *Am. Hist. Review*, January, 1901.

² In other words, we insisted that the British must give up the entire country below 54° 40', or fight. Our claim to the territory, through Captain Gray's discovery of the Columbia River, Lewis and Clark's expedition, our settlements, and the Spanish treaty of 1819 was better than that of the English (§§ 216, 238).

Britain made a treaty by which they agreed to divide the country between them.¹ It was our fourth step in national expansion (§§ 215, 238, 285). We took the portion between the boundary of upper Mexico (now California), or 42°, and the parallel of 49° north, including the Columbia River; the English took the remainder, from 49° to Alaska. (Map, p. 251.) Our part included what are now the states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and parts of Wyoming and Montana, — a territory covering in all not far from 300,000 square miles. (Map, p. 334.)

290. The Mexican War; Battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma. But though the Oregon Treaty settled the fact that we should not fight with Great Britain, yet we were soon at war with our next-door neighbor, the feeble republic of Mexico. Texas and Mexico got into a dispute over the western boundary of Texas (§ 285). Texas stoutly insisted that the line was at the Rio Grande River; Mexico denied this, and vehemently declared that it was on the Nueces River, about a hundred miles east of the Rio Grande. (Map, No. I, p. 253.)

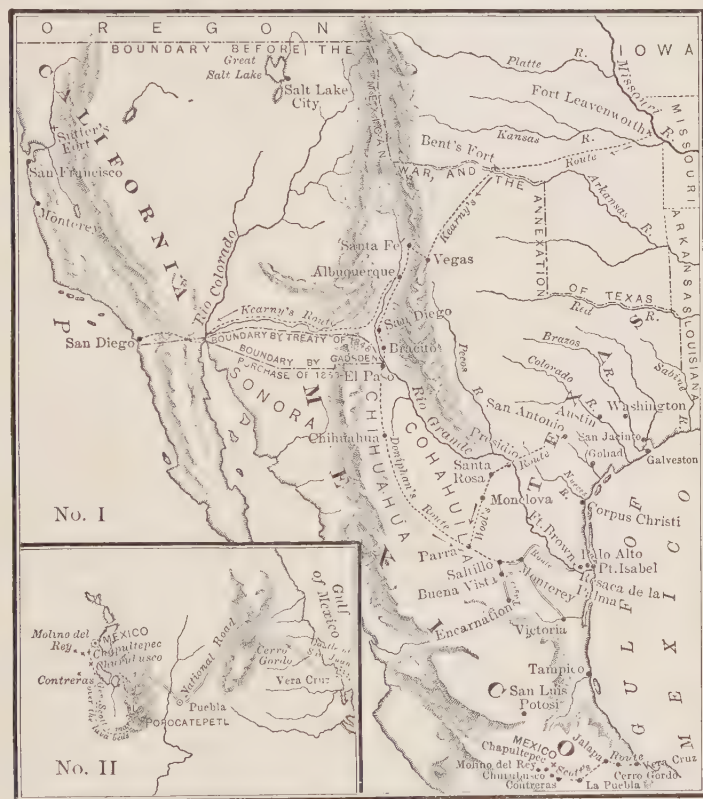
The President commanded General Taylor to seize the strip of land between the rivers. To quote General Grant's words, our troops were sent there "to provoke a fight."² Mexico was weak, but not cowardly. The Mexican government ordered Taylor to leave the eastern bank of the Rio Grande, where he held Fort Brown. He refused, and the Mexicans crossed the river (April 24, 1846), and shed the first blood.³ Soon after, General Taylor — or "Old Rough and Ready," as his men called him — gained the victory in the battle of Palo Alto (May 8, 1846); and the next day (May 9) that of Resaca de la Palma. The Mexicans retreated across the Rio Grande; Taylor followed them and took possession of a small town on Mexican soil.

¹ The treaty of 1846 extended the Webster-Ashburton line (§ 283) through to the Pacific. The boundary is marked by mounds, heaps of stones, posts, and cast-iron pillars; the pillars are placed a mile apart.

² See "Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant," I, 68.

³ The blood was shed on territory claimed by Mexico; but the President's message stated that it had been spilt on "*our own territory*." Abraham Lincoln, then in Congress, demanded, in a series of resolutions, known as the "Spot" resolutions, to be informed where the exact "spot" of this bloodshed was, and whether it had not been provoked by a body of armed Americans sent there by order of our government.

291. Congress declares War; Battles of Monterey and Buena Vista; Conquest of California and New Mexico. Congress now (May 13, 1846) declared war against Mexico, and thousands of



NO. I, THE MEXICAN WAR; NO. II, SCOTT'S MARCH TO THE CITY OF MEXICO

volunteers, mainly from the southern and southwestern states, enlisted to fight against her.

In the autumn (September 24, 1846) General Taylor attacked the Mexicans at Monterey, and took the town after a desperate battle of four days.¹ Early the next year, Santa Anna, the Mexican

¹ Read Hoffman's poem of "Monterey" in "Heroic Ballads" (Ginn and Company).

president and commander in chief, led a force of 20,000 men against Taylor, who had only about a fourth of that number. The battle was fought at Buena Vista, in the mountains (1847). We had the advantage of position, and after an all day's fight the Mexicans retreated. (Map, p. 253.)

This victory gave us possession of northeastern Mexico. General Taylor returned home in November (1847) and the fame of this battle made him President of the United States two years later. Meanwhile (1846), an American fleet with the help of Colonel Frémont had conquered California; and General Kearney had seized Santa Fe, and with it the territory now called New Mexico.

292. General Scott sent to Mexico; he takes Vera Cruz; Victory of Cerro Gordo. General Winfield Scott (§ 231) had now been ordered to Mexico with a second army. His plan was to land at Vera Cruz (Map, p. 253), and march directly on the city of Mexico, 200 miles distant. After nine days' fighting he took Vera Cruz and the strong fortress of San Juan de Ulua, which defended it by sea (spring of 1847). General Scott said that this important victory was due in great measure to the remarkable engineering skill of Captain Robert E. Lee of Virginia, who eighteen years later became commander in chief of all the Confederate armies in the Civil War. Then pushing forward, Scott fought a battle at the mountain pass of Cerro Gordo, driving the Mexicans before him. Late in the summer (1847) he crossed the last ridge of mountains, and saw the spires and towers of the capital of Mexico glittering in the sun. The city is situated in a valley. It was surrounded with fortifications, and could only be reached by a few narrow roads of stone built across the marshes. Scott had about 11,000 men to attack an army which numbered more than three to his one, while the city itself had a population of nearly 200,000.

293. Victories in the Vicinity of the City of Mexico; the City taken. With heavy loss to ourselves as well as to the enemy, we fought and won in a single day (1847) a succession of battles¹ near the city, — every one ending in victory to our arms. A few weeks

¹ These were the battles of Contreras, San Antonio, and Churubusco.

later we attacked and carried the fortified mill of Molino del Rey ; five days later we took the castle of Chapultepec.

The next morning (September 14, 1847) Scott's little army, now numbering only 6000 men, entered the city of Mexico and hoisted the Stars and Stripes over the ancient palace, or so-called "Halls of the Montezumas."¹ In the conquering army there was a young lieutenant from Ohio, whom we shall meet again — his name was Ulysses S. Grant.²

The fall of the city of Mexico practically ended the war, which had lasted less than two years. With the exception of our recent contest with Spain (1898), it was the only war recorded in American history in which all the victories were on one side ; for our troops gained every battle, and gained it in every instance against a larger force.

294. Our Fifth Step in National Expansion ; Cessions of Mexican Territory ; Other Results of the War. By a treaty of peace (1848) we obtained the territory of California and New Mexico, with undisputed possession of Texas — or in all, nearly a million of square miles.³ (Map, p. 334.) It was our fifth step in national expansion (§ 289).

A few years later (1853) we bought from Mexico a strip of land now included in southern Arizona and New Mexico, and known as the "Gadsden Purchase." (Map, p. 334.) The Mexican War educated many of the American officers who fought in it, or were connected with it (such men as Grant, Lee, Sherman, and "Stonewall" Jackson), for the battlefields of the Civil War.

¹ The Montezumas (mon-te-zu'mas) were the rulers of Mexico at the time of the Spanish conquest by Cortez (see § 19). The palace, which we called the "Halls of the Montezumas," was built by the Spanish successors of Cortez.

² General Grant says, in his "Personal Memoirs," I, 53, that he considered the Mexican War "one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation." The feeling against the war in New England found witty and able expression in Lowell's famous poems of the "Biglow Papers" (First Series).

³ We, however, paid Mexico \$15,000,000 for the territory, besides assuming certain debts of hers, amounting to about \$3,000,000 more. We had previously assumed the debt of Texas, of \$7,500,000 ; so that the whole cost of the entire territory, exclusive of the expense of the war, was \$25,500,000. This was thought to be an enormous outlay, and, as it had been incurred through the annexation of Texas, many people grumbled, and said that "Texas" was simply "Taxes," with the letters differently arranged. To-day the assessed valuation of Texas alone is much more than forty times greater than the cost of the whole Mexican land cession.

295. Discovery of Gold in California, 1848. At the close of the Mexican War Colonel Mason was left in charge of California as military governor, and William

T. Sherman — later General Sherman — acted as one of his chief officers. In the spring of 1848 two men called on the Governor, at Monterey, south of San Francisco. Presently Colonel Mason called to Sherman to come into his office. On the table were several little papers containing small bits of yellowish metal. "What is that?" said the Governor to Sherman. "I touched it," adds the General, "examined one or two of the large pieces, and asked, 'Is it gold?'"¹ *It was gold.* Some



DISCOVERY OF GOLD

men had found it in digging a mill race for a sawmill for Captain Sutter, near Coloma, on a fork of the American River about a hundred miles northeast of San Francisco.

San Francisco was then a little village of about 400 inhabitants. When the news of the "great find" was spread abroad, nearly every person started for the mines. Houses were left half built; fields, half plowed. Every man who could possibly get away bought a shovel and hurried off to dig his fortune out of the golden sands.



296. Emigration to California; the "Vigilance Committee"; Results of the Discovery of Gold. The next spring (1849) the "gold fever" reached the eastern states, and a great rush of

¹ "Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman," I, 40. Gold was first discovered January 24, 1848; see Bancroft's "California."

emigration, by both land and sea, began for California. Many died of sickness contracted in crossing the Isthmus of Panama; multitudes more perished on the overland route across the continent. From the Rocky Mountains to the Sierras the track of the emigrants was marked by the skeletons of horses and oxen, and by barrels, boxes, and household goods thrown away along the road. But notwithstanding the loss of life, and the fact that many turned back, discouraged at the hardships of the undertaking, still over 80,000 men succeeded in reaching California before the end of that year.

From an insignificant settlement San Francisco suddenly sprang into a city of 20,000 inhabitants. To-day it has a population of over 400,000. But the great majority of the emigrants hurried off to the gold diggings, where, with pan and shovel,¹ they were speedily engaged in collecting the shining particles of that precious metal which most men find it so hard to get, and also so hard to hold. In the course of the next seven years (1849-1856) gold valued at over \$400,000,000 was obtained. The labor of getting it was worth three times more than the gold itself.² A few gained the riches they so eagerly sought, but the greater part barely made a living by the most exhausting toil.

Eagerness for wealth naturally brought bad men as well as good to this land of promise. At times these reckless adventurers made serious trouble. The stern hand of a Vigilance Committee, organized by a majority of the best citizens of San Francisco, speedily taught desperadoes and thieves that life and property must be respected.

In the end the discovery of gold had many good results.³

1. It gave us firm possession of the Pacific coast, since it rapidly settled the wilderness of California with a population of energetic and determined men.

¹ At first, much of the gold was taken from the beds of small streams and their vicinity. It was done by sifting out the sand, or washing the earth, in pans or otherwise. When the surface mining gave out, men began to cut down the hills by directing powerful streams of water against them, and then washing the gravel and dirt for gold. Most of the gold now obtained in California is from quartz rock, which is broken to pieces by stamping mills.

² Bancroft's "Pacific States," Vol. XVIII.

³ But compare § 312.

2. By increasing the amount of gold in circulation it stimulated trade, industry, and commerce not only throughout the United States but throughout the civilized world. New lines of steamships were started, new lines of railways built, new markets opened for goods and produce, new mills and factories established.

3. When the precious metal in the sands began to give out, men found the real, inexhaustible wealth of the country in its fields of grain, its vineyards, its orange plantations, its sheep and cattle farms. These make California a true land of gold, and of gold which is forever growing.

297. Summary. James K. Polk's presidency opened with our getting possession of Oregon. The Mexican War followed, resulting in our obtaining California and New Mexico; the latter then included Nevada, Utah, with parts of Colorado and Wyoming. (Map, p. 334.) The period closed with the discovery of gold, and with an immense emigration to California.

ZACHARY TAYLOR (WHIG); MILLARD FILLMORE (WHIG)

298. Taylor and Fillmore's Administrations (Twelfth and Thirteenth Presidents, One Term, 1849-1853); the Question of the Extension of Slavery. When General Taylor¹ became President the North and the South were already engaged in fierce dispute in regard to the territory gained through the Mexican War. Florida had been admitted (1845) as a slave state, and Texas followed (1845). It was the last slave state that entered the Union; next, Congress was called on to determine whether California and New Mexico should be permitted to hold slaves.

This question of the spread of slavery had now come to be of greater importance and of greater danger to the country than any

¹ General Taylor was born in Virginia, 1784. A few years later his father removed with his family to Louisville, Kentucky. Taylor entered the regular army in 1808. In 1840 he bought a plantation, and settled at Baton Rouge, Louisiana. His career in Mexico has already been traced. He was elected President by the Whigs, over Lewis Cass, the Democratic candidate, and Martin Van Buren, the Free-Soil candidate. President Taylor died July 9, 1850, and was succeeded by Vice President Millard Fillmore. General Taylor owned a large number of slaves; but in political action he belonged to no party and did not favor the extension of slavery to new territory. He was a brave, true, and conscientious man.

other. It acted like a wedge, gradually forcing the North and the South farther and farther apart. At the North the laborer was free; whatever he earned was his own. At the South he was not free; what he earned was his master's. The North with free labor had steadily increased in population and wealth; the South with slave labor had made but little real progress. Most people at the North now considered slavery a positive evil; but a strong party at the South, led by Calhoun, held that it was a positive good.

This difference in belief led to the struggle about the new territory. The South felt that it was only by getting new slave states — thereby increasing the number of its senators and representatives — that it could maintain its power in Congress. The Southern leaders believed that if they lost that power their system of slave labor would be destroyed, their negroes would be set free and would get the control of that part of the country.

299. The "Wilmot Proviso"; Dispute about Slavery; the Danger of Disunion; the Compromise of 1850; the Fugitive-Slave Law. Before the Mexican War had come to an end, David Wilmot, a Pennsylvania Democrat, startled the country by proposing the passage of a law called the "Wilmot Proviso." It declared that slavery should never be permitted to exist in any part of the territory which we might obtain from Mexico. The "Wilmot Proviso" passed the House of Representatives by a large majority, but it did not pass the Senate. The discussion of this measure roused angry passions in both the North and the South.

After the Mexican War was over the dispute about opening to slavery the new territory we had acquired (§ 294) grew hotter and hotter. Three methods of settlement were proposed.

1. The extreme Southern men said, "Every citizen of the United States has the right to go to any part of the country he pleases, and take his property, including his negroes, with him. Give us, said they, that right, and we ask no more."

2. But the advocates of the "Wilmot Proviso" and other Free-Soil men answered: "We will have no more slave states. All territory must come in free."

3. Finally, a third class said: Congress has no right to meddle in this matter, one way or the other. What we want is "Popular Sovereignty" — that is, let the people of the territories decide for themselves between freedom and slavery.

None of these methods satisfied both sections of the country, but unless some agreement could be reached the Union might be broken up. In that case we should split into a Northern and a Southern Republic. At this time of peril Henry Clay, "the peacemaker," came forward in Congress, in 1850, with this compromise, or plan of settlement (§§ 243, 269).

1. Let California come in as a free state; at the same time let the slave trade (though not slavery itself) be abolished in the District of Columbia (§ 264).

2. In all the rest of the territory obtained from Mexico let us have "Popular Sovereignty"—in other words, let the people determine for themselves whether they will have free labor or slave labor.

3. Let us have a new Fugitive-Slave Law (page 174, note) which shall arrest all runaway slaves found at the North, and, without trial by jury, return them to their masters.

It will be seen that Clay's first proposition was calculated to please the Anti-Slavery party in the North and get their votes in Congress. His second proposition was arranged so that it would please the advocates of "Popular Sovereignty" in the territories, while his third proposition would be sure to gratify the slaveholders in the South, and so secure their votes. In this way all parties would find something in Clay's Compromise measures which they would like.

Daniel Webster (§ 268) employed his eloquence to get Congress to vote for these compromise measures, including the new Fugitive-Slave Law;¹ for he believed that if it was rejected, the Union would be destroyed. Many people at the North denounced him, as John Quincy Adams once did, as "a heartless traitor to the cause of human freedom"; but Horace Greeley, a strong Abolitionist,

¹ Mr. Webster, however, wished to have this law modified so as to secure trial by jury to negroes arrested as fugitives, in case they denied that they were runaway slaves. His efforts to secure this change were unsuccessful, for the South insisted that no Northern jury would ever return a negro. See Curtis' "Life of Webster," II, 422, 423.

declared that the great majority, both North and South, agreed with Mr. Webster.¹

300. Passage of the Fugitive-Slave Law; its Results; the "Higher Law"; the "Underground Railroad." During the debate on the Fugitive-Slave Law President Taylor died, and was succeeded by Vice President Fillmore. The law, with the other compromise measures, passed in the autumn of 1850, California was admitted as a free state, and it was hoped that peace was secured. But it was a peace, like a smoldering fire, ready to burst into flame at any moment. (Map, p. 270.)

As soon as the slave owners of the South attempted to enforce the new law and arrest their runaway negroes at the North, trouble began. Many men who had never disobeyed an act of Congress refused to send back the South's fugitive slaves. They said, with Senator Seward, "On this point we feel that there is a 'Higher Law' than that of Congress, — a divine law of justice and freedom, — which forbids us to give the help demanded."

This new spirit of resistance showed itself not only in words but in actions. In Boston a fugitive named Shadrach was taken from the officers and carried off to a place of safety; and in Syracuse, New York, one named Jerry received his liberty in the same way. Several Northern states now passed laws to protect negroes and prevent their being sent back to slavery. Many persons, out of pity for the escaped slaves, banded themselves together to help them privately to get to Canada. This method got the name of the "Underground Railroad"; and hundreds, if not thousands, of trembling fugitives owed their liberty to the quickness and secrecy of this peculiar system of travel.

301. "Uncle Tom's Cabin"; Charles Sumner and Jefferson Davis. This feeling of opposition was suddenly intensified throughout the North by the publication (1852) of Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin." It was a remarkable book — one written from the heart to the heart. It meant to be truthful, to be fair, to be kind.

Mrs. Stowe's object was to show what the life of the slave really was, — to show its bright and happy side, as well as its dark and

¹ See Horace Greeley's "American Conflict," I, 220, 221.

cruel side. People who took up the book could not lay it down until they had finished it. They laughed and cried, and laughed again, over "Topsy," "Eva," and "Uncle Tom"; but they ended with tears in their eyes. No arguments, no denials, could shake the influence of the story. In a single year two hundred thousand copies were sold in this country, and in a short time the total sales here had reached half a million copies.

From this time onward a silent revolution was going on. The forces for slavery and those against it were girding themselves up for the terrible struggle. The great leaders of the nation on both sides — Clay, Webster, Calhoun — had recently died. New men were taking their places in Congress, — Charles Sumner representing the North, Jefferson Davis, the South. In the battles which these two men fought in words we have the beginning of that contest which was soon to end in civil war. Both felt that the time was very soon coming when the republic must stand wholly free or wholly on the side of slavery.

302. Summary. The four chief events of the Taylor and Fillmore administrations were: (1) the debate on the extension of slavery in the new territory gained by the Mexican War; (2) the Compromise Measures of 1850, including the Fugitive-Slave Law; (3) the publication of "Uncle Tom's Cabin"; and (4) the beginning of the great final struggle in Congress between the North and the South.

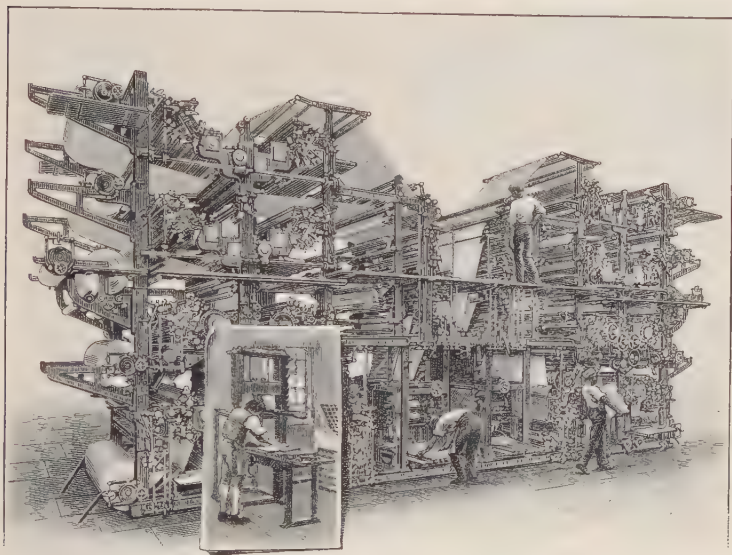
FRANKLIN PIERCE (DEMOCRAT)

303. Pierce's Administration (Fourteenth President, One Term, 1853-1857); the "World's Fair" at New York City; American Labor-Saving Machines. The inauguration of President Pierce¹ occurred at a time when a majority of the people were tired of hearing about slavery. It was a period of great business prosperity;

¹ Franklin Pierce was born in New Hampshire in 1804; died, 1869. He was in Congress from 1837-1842, and was a brigadier general in the Mexican War. He was elected President (William R. King of Alabama, Vice President) by the Democrats, over General Scott, the Whig candidate. The Whig party had practically ceased to exist before the next presidential election, in 1856. The Free Soilers humorously declared that it died "of an attempt to swallow the Fugitive-Slave Law" (which the Whig National Convention had accepted in 1852). In 1852 a new political party called the American Party, or "Know Nothings," came

almost everybody seemed to be making money, and some newspapers called it the "golden age." In the summer (1853) the first American "World's Fair" was opened in New York City, in the "Crystal Palace."

The exhibition proved that no country in the world could equal our own in labor-saving machines. Four of the most remarkable



A TWENTIETH-CENTURY ELECTRIC NEWSPAPER PRINTING PRESS

(With cut of Franklin's press for comparison)

of these were the newly invented sewing machines which were then beginning to come into general use; next, the horse reapers and mowers, and finally an improved steam printing press, which could send out a continuous stream of four-page newspapers at the rate of over 200 a minute. That was thought extraordinary speed

into existence. They had a secret organization, and their object was to exclude all but native American citizens from office, to check the power of Catholicism, and to oppose the admission of foreigners to citizenship except after very long residence here. Their motto was, "Americans must rule America." The "Know Nothings" became a national party, exerted considerable influence for a few years, and then died out.

then, but now we have presses, driven by electricity, which can print 1600 sixteen-page sheets a minute, or nearly 100,000 an hour. This makes a roll of paper seventy miles long.

The horse reapers and mowers for cutting grain and grass (1845) showed the immense advance we had made over the slow work formerly done by hand with sickle and scythe. The French Academy of Sciences declared that the American inventor of the horse reaper had "done more for the cause of agriculture than any man living." The effect on the settlement of the West was wonderful, for by using these machines the farmer could do as much work in a few hours as he had been able to do before in a whole week.¹ But these machines have since been superseded, on some of the immense farms at the West, by "harvesters," which



TWO-HORSE REAPERS AT WORK

cut the grain, thrash it, clean it, and put it up in bags in the field. These "harvesters" sometimes require more than thirty horses to draw them, or they are propelled by steam (§ 371).

304. Commodore M. C. Perry
opens the Ports of Japan. Not

long after the close of the Crystal Palace Exhibition, Commodore M. C. Perry, brother of the late Commodore O. H. Perry of Lake Erie fame (§ 229), sailed into one of the ports of Japan with the first fleet of steamers that had ever entered a harbor of that island. For over two centuries that country had been almost practically closed to the entire world. Through Perry's influence the government of Japan made a treaty with the United States admitting our ships to trade. We made the Emperor presents of a locomotive

¹ Obed Hussey patented his horse reaper in 1834 and Cyrus Hall McCormick patented his machine a few months later. Eventually these remarkable farming implements were improved so that they not only cut the grain in the field, but bound it up in sheaves. Speaking of one of these machines, William H. Seward, then in the United States Senate, said, in 1859, that it had pushed the line of civilization [in the United States] westward thirty miles each year. And Professor Alexander Johnston says that the results of the horse reaper "have been hardly less than that of the locomotive in their importance to the United States. . . . It was agricultural machinery that made Western farms profitable, and enabled the railways to fill the West so rapidly." See also Coman's "Industrial History of the United States," p. 244.

with a train of cars, and a line of telegraph, — the first ever seen in that country, which has since adopted, through our influence, both steam and electricity. Later (1901), the Japanese erected a monument commemorating Commodore Perry's work. It stands in Perry Park, Kurihama, Japan, at which port the American officer first landed.

305. The Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854; Rise of the Modern Republican Party, 1856. It will be remembered that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 shut out slavery from the territory west and north of Missouri (§ 243). At the time the Compromise was made it was solemnly declared that it would stand "forever." But the end of that "forever" was now reached. The South demanded



PERRY LANDING IN JAPAN

the right to carry slavery into the region of Nebraska beyond Missouri. In 1854 Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois — the "Little Giant," as his friends called him¹ — proposed a law entitled the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. That bill cut what was then the territory of Nebraska into two parts, of which the southern portion was called Kansas; and it left the settlers of these two territories to decide whether they would have slave labor or not.² Congress

¹ Senator Douglas was short in stature and stoutly built. His great intellectual ability and marked decision of character got for him the name of the "Little Giant." He died in 1861, shortly after the outbreak of the Civil War. His dying message to his sons was his entreaty that they should stand by the Union and the Constitution.

² Senator Douglas claimed that in giving the people of Kansas and Nebraska the power of choosing whether they would have slave labor or not, he was simply extending that part of Clay's Compromise measure of 1850 (§ 299) which gave the same privilege to the people of the territories of New Mexico and Utah.

passed the bill, and thus repealed or set aside the Missouri Compromise or agreement made in 1820 (§ 243). The North was indignant at the new law. Senator Douglas was hooted in the streets. Mass meetings were held to denounce him, and so many images of him were made and burned that Mr. Douglas himself said that he traveled from Washington to Chicago by the light of his own blazing effigies.

One of the most important results of the controversy over the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was that it led to the formation in 1856 of a new political party. Those who opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the extension of slavery in the West now united and took the name of Republicans (§ 203).

306. The Struggle for the Possession of Kansas; Emigrants from Missouri and from New England. A desperate struggle (1854) began between the North and the South for the possession of Kansas.¹ Bands of slaveholders armed with rifles crossed the Missouri River and seized lands in the new territory. They settled a town which they named Atchison in honor of Senator Atchison of Missouri.

Next, the New England Aid Society of Boston sent out a body of armed emigrants, singing,

" We cross the prairies, as of old
The Pilgrims crossed the sea,
To make the West, as they the East,
The Homestead of the free."²

They settled about forty miles to the southwest of Atchison. They called their little cluster of tents and log cabins Lawrence, because Amos A. Lawrence was treasurer of the society, which was established to aid Northern men to build homes in Kansas, and to make the territory a free state.

307. The Rival Governments of Kansas; Civil War in the Territory. The rival bands of settlers soon set up governments to suit themselves. The "Free-state men" made their headquarters

¹ In speaking of this coming struggle, Honorable William H. Seward of New York said, in the United States Senate, 1854: "Come on, then, gentlemen of the slave states; since there is no escaping your challenge, I accept it on behalf of Freedom. We will engage in competition for the virgin soil of Kansas, and God give the victory to the side that is stronger in numbers as it is in right."

² See Whittier's "The Song of the Kansas Emigrant."

at Topeka and Lawrence; the "Slave-state men" made theirs at Leavenworth and Lecompton.

During the next five years (1854-1859) the territory was torn by civil war, and fairly earned the title of "Bleeding Kansas." The "Free-state men" denounced the opposite party as "Border Ruffians"; the "Slave-state men" called the "Free-state men" "Abolitionists" and "Black Republicans."

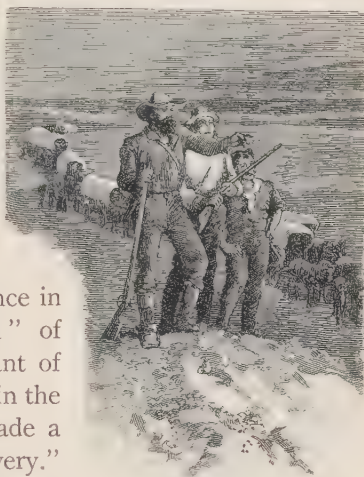
308. Attack on Lawrence; John Brown; Assault on Charles Sumner.

In the course of this period of violence and bloodshed the "Slave-state men" attacked Lawrence, plundered the town, and burned some of its chief buildings.

This roused the spirit of vengeance in the heart of "Old John Brown" of Osawatimie.¹ He was a descendant of one of the Pilgrims who came over in the *Mayflower* (§ 73), and he had made a solemn vow to "kill American slavery."

In return for the attack on Lawrence, Brown got together a small band, surprised a little settlement of Slave-state

men on Pottawatomie Creek, dragged five of them from their beds, and deliberately murdered them. Later, Brown crossed into Missouri, destroyed considerable property, freed eleven slaves, and shot one of the slave owners. In the end, the "Free-state men" won the victory, and Kansas, following the example of



EMIGRANTS ON THEIR WAY
TO KANSAS

¹ John Brown, born in Torrington, Connecticut, 1800, was executed at Charlestown, Virginia (now West Virginia), December 2, 1859, for having attempted by armed force to liberate slaves in that state. He was a descendant of Peter Brown, who came over in the *Mayflower* in 1620. When a boy he chanced to see a slave boy cruelly beaten by his master, and he then and there vowed (so he says) "eternal war with slavery." In 1848 he purchased a farm in North Elba, New York, but spent a great deal of his time in aiding runaway slaves to get to Canada. He went out to Osawatimie, Kansas, in 1855, to take part in making that territory a free state, and also, as he says, to strike a blow at slavery. Brown's party declared that they perpetrated the "Pottawatomie Massacre" in return for the assassination of five "Free-state men" by the opposite party.

Minnesota and Oregon (1858-1859), entered the Union without slavery (1861).

During the heated debate in Congress over the Kansas troubles, Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts made a speech denouncing slavery, and alluding to Senator Butler of South Carolina in a way that stung the latter's friends to madness. Representative Brooks, a kinsman of Butler's, considered the speech an insult; he brutally assaulted Sumner, and beat him so severely over the head with a heavy cane that he was obliged to give up his seat in Congress for nearly four years. In less than a year from his return (1859) South Carolina seceded from the Union.

309. Summary. The chief events of Pierce's administration were: (1) the "World's Fair" exhibition; (2) Commodore Perry's treaty with Japan, opening that country to trade with the United States; (3) the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, repealing the Missouri Compromise; (4) the foundation of the modern Republican party; and (5) the struggle of the North and the South for the possession of Kansas.

JAMES BUCHANAN (DEMOCRAT)

310. Buchanan's Administration (Fifteenth President, One Term, 1857-1861); the Case of Dred Scott. Two days after President Buchanan's¹ inauguration Chief Justice Tancy gave the decision of the United States Supreme Court in a case of great importance, known as the "Dred Scott Case." Scott was a negro slave and the son of slave parents. His master had taken him (1834) from the slave state of Missouri to the free state of Illinois, where he stayed two years. He then took him to what is now Minnesota, a part of the country in which Congress had prohibited slavery by the Missouri Compromise (§§ 243, 305). Finally, he carried Scott back to Missouri.

¹ James Buchanan was born in Pennsylvania, 1791; died, 1868. He was elected to Congress in 1820; later, to the United States Senate; was minister to Russia; Secretary of State under Polk; and in 1853 minister to England. He was elected President (John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, Vice President) by the Democrats, over John C. Frémont, the Republican candidate, and Millard Fillmore, the American, or "Know Nothing," candidate.

There he sold him to a new master ; but the negro demanded his liberty on the ground that since he had lived for a considerable time on free soil he had therefore become a free man.

311. Decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Dred Scott Case, 1857; Results at the North. The case was carried to the United States Supreme Court. In 1857 that court¹ decided :

1. That a negro (whether bond or free), who was a descendant of slave ancestors, was not an American citizen.

2. That therefore he could not sue (even for his liberty) in the United States courts.

3. It furthermore decided that Scott had not gained his freedom by going into a free state, or into a territory where Congress had prohibited slavery by the Missouri Compromise (§§ 243, 305), since Congress had no rightful power to make such a law. (Map, p. 270.)

Chief Justice Taney had shown himself a friend to the black man, for he had voluntarily freed his own slaves. But when he gave the decision of the court he took occasion to say that when the Constitution was adopted negroes "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." Finally, he declared that Scott's master could lawfully take his slaves into any territory, just as he could his horses and his cattle.

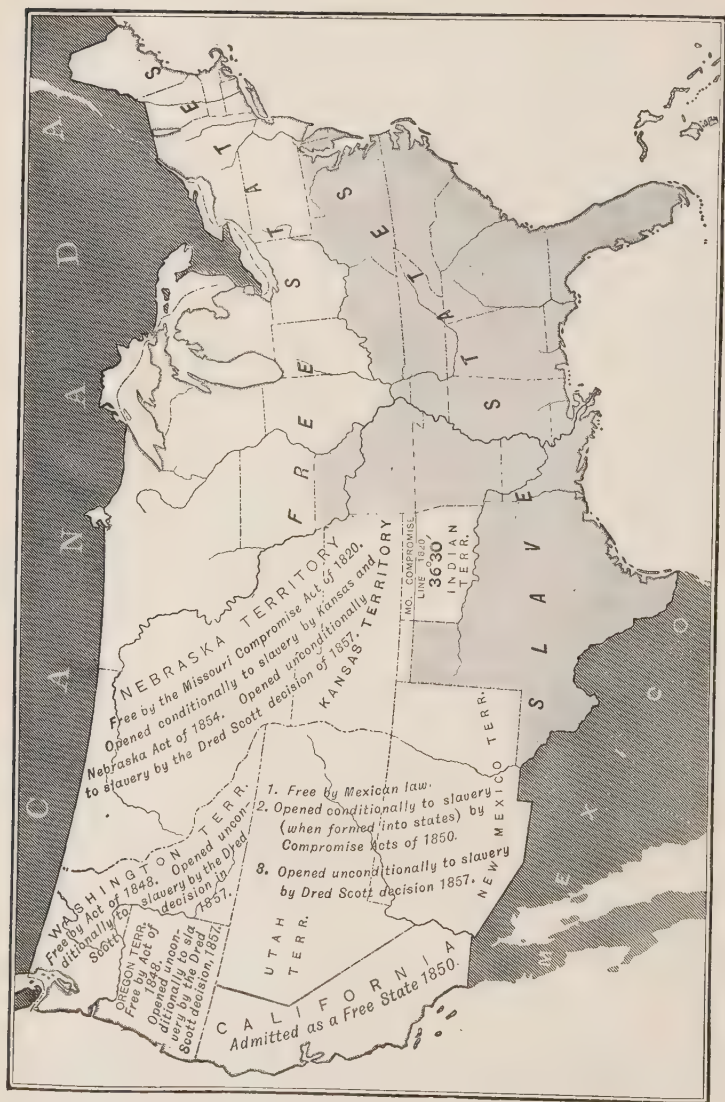
This decision by the highest court in the United States stirred the North like an electric shock. The people of that section believed that it practically threw open to slavery not only the territories but even the free states.² The result was that many people determined that the law should not be carried out.³ This, of course, angered the South, and greatly increased the bad feeling between the two sections.

312. The Business Panic (1857). While men were excitedly discussing the Dred Scott decision, and while the danger of disunion was growing more and more threatening, a heavy business failure

¹ Judge McLean and Judge Curtis did not agree with the other seven judges.

² That is, that the free states could not prevent a slaveholder from bringing his slaves with him (as Scott's master had done), and staying at least two years with them on free soil.

³ The Northern people believed that under the Constitution slaves could only be held in those states which protected slavery by their laws, and that if a master took his negroes into a state whose laws forbade slavery, he could not hold them in bondage there.



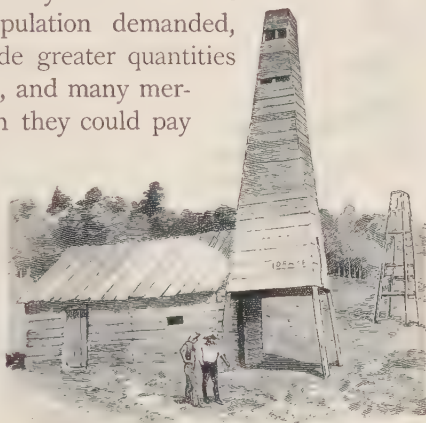
AREA OF FREEDOM AND SLAVERY IN 1857

Congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia, April 16, 1862, and prohibited it in the territories, June 19, 1862.

occurred in Cincinnati. This brought down other business houses, just as when a large building falls the smaller ones whose walls rest against it often fall with it. The panic of 1837 (§ 275) was now repeated. Nearly all the banks in the country failed, many railways could not pay their debts, thousands of merchants and manufacturers were ruined, and it seemed at one time as though the rich must become poor, and the poor must become beggars.

The chief causes of this trouble were to be found in the results of the discovery of gold in California (§ 295). The wealth which poured in from the mines had stimulated men to overdo all kinds of business, more lines of railway had been built in the West than the population demanded, many manufacturers had made greater quantities of goods than they could sell, and many merchants had bought more than they could pay for. The country was like a man who had worked beyond his strength—it had to stop and take a rest.

313. Discovery of Silver in Nevada and Colorado, and of Petroleum and Natural Gas in Pennsylvania. But less than two years after the panic some of the richest silver mines ever discovered



DRAKE'S OIL WELL

on the globe were found in the mountain region of western Nevada (1859). The two chief of these, known as the "Bonanza" mines, sent out many millions of dollars' worth of ore cast in the form of "silver bricks." When, in the course of time, the Bonanza mines were practically worked out, new mines were found (1877) in Leadville and other parts of Colorado and in Utah, which sent out a fresh supply of the precious metal.

The same year (1859) E. L. Drake bored the first successful oil well on Oil Creek, near Titusville, in northwestern Pennsylvania. Since then petroleum has flowed from the wells that have

been opened in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Texas, southern New York, and the Far West. The average yield of these wells has often been more than a hundred thousand barrels of oil a day. Lines of iron pipes, laid underground, now carry the oil over hills, across rivers, through forests and farms, to Chicago, Buffalo, Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, and other points on the Great Lakes, the seacoast, and elsewhere. The largest stream of oil has a total length (including main pipe lines and "feeders") of not far from 75,000 miles; it is about eighteen times the length of the Mississippi-Missouri, the longest river in America or in the world.



HARPERS FERRY IN 1859

The Standard Oil Company of Cleveland, Ohio, secured practical control of the chief part of the business (1877). Petroleum is used not only for giving light, but for heating purposes and for driving motor cars and machinery.

About fifteen years after the discovery of petroleum in Pennsylvania natural gas was found issuing from the rocks in the same region, and later in Ohio, Indiana, and other parts of the West. This gas, which is largely used, at one time took the place of oil and coal in Pittsburg, Indianapolis, and vicinity, for lighting streets and houses, for cooking, and for fuel in manufacturing.

314. John Brown's Raid. But while the excitement over the discovery of petroleum was spreading, and men were getting rich by "striking oil," a strange event startled the whole country. "John Brown of Osawatimic" (§ 308) made a raid into Virginia, seized the government buildings at Harpers Ferry, and attempted to liberate the slaves in that vicinity (October 17, 1859). John Brown's whole band consisted of only about twenty men, partly whites and partly negroes. After hard fighting he was captured, with six of his companions, and hanged at Charlestown, Virginia (now West Virginia) (December 2, 1859). On the day of his execution he handed this paper to one of his guards: "I, John Brown, am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood. I had, as I now think, vainly flattered myself that without very much bloodshed it might be done."¹

Within a year and a half from the day of his death the North and the South were at war with each other, and a Northern regiment on its way to the contest was singing,

"John Brown's body lies a-moldering in the grave,
But his soul is marching on."

315. The Election of Abraham Lincoln; Secession of South Carolina, 1860. In November, 1860, Abraham Lincoln² of Illinois was elected by the Republican party President of the United

¹ Governor Wise of Virginia said of John Brown, "He inspired me with great trust in his integrity as a man of truth." The Governor also said: "They are mistaken who take Brown for a madman. He is a bundle of the best nerves I ever saw . . . cool, collected, indomitable." In his last speech at his trial, John Brown declared that his only object had been to liberate the slaves, and that he did not intend to commit murder or treason or to destroy property. "I feel," said he, "no consciousness of guilt."

² Abraham Lincoln was born in Hardin County, Kentucky, in 1809. His early life was spent in toil, hardship, and poverty; but it was the independent poverty of the Western wilderness, and it made men of those who fought their way out of it.

When the boy was only eight years old he had learned to swing an ax. From that time until he came of age he literally chopped and hewed his way forward and upward. He learned to read from two books — the spelling book and the Bible; then he borrowed "Pilgrim's Progress" and Aesop's Fables, and would sit up half the night reading them "by the blaze of the logs his own ax had split."

In 1816 the Lincoln family moved to Spencer County, Indiana; and in 1830, to Decatur, Illinois. On this last occasion young Lincoln walked the entire distance, nearly two hundred miles, through mud and water, driving a four-ox team. The journey took fifteen days, for even two yoke of oxen do not move quite as fast as steam. When they reached their

States, then a nation of over 30,000,000. That party, though it denounced John Brown's attempt (§ 314) as "lawless and unjustifiable," pledged itself to shut out slavery from the territories.

The people of South Carolina believed that the election of Mr. Lincoln meant that the great majority of the North was determined to bring about the liberation of the negroes. That was a great mistake; but the Carolinians could not then be convinced to the contrary. They furthermore saw that they could no longer hope to maintain the power they once possessed in Congress, for the free states now had six more senators and fifty-seven more representatives than the slave states had.¹

On December 20, 1860, a convention met in "Secession Hall," in Charleston, and unanimously voted "that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other states, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved." Those who thus voted said that it was no hasty resolution on their part, but

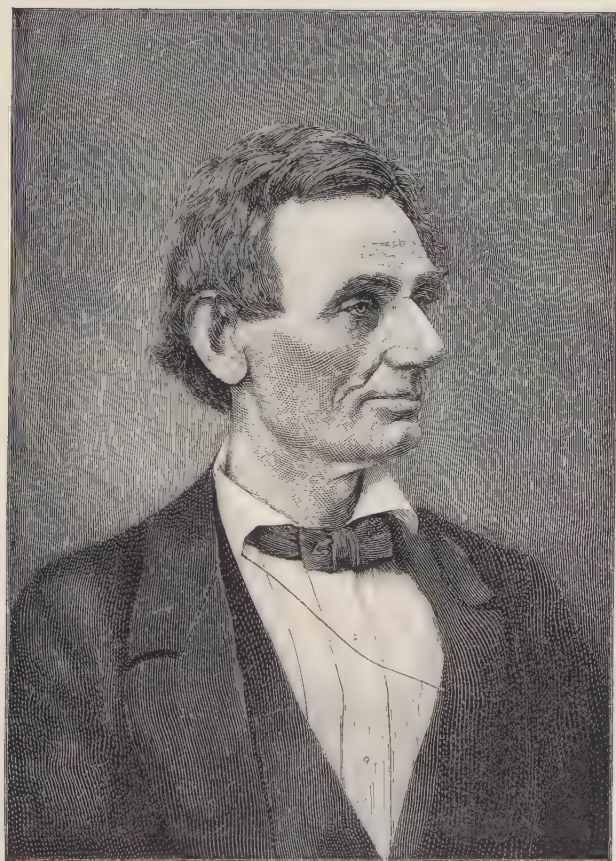
destination, in what was then an almost unsettled country, the father and son set to work to build the log cabin which was to be their home; and when that was finished, young Lincoln split the rails to fence in their farm of ten acres.

Such work was play to him. He was now twenty-one; he stood six feet three and a half inches, barefooted; he was in perfect health; could outrun, outjump, outwrestle, and, if necessary, outfight any one of his age in that part of the country, and "his grip was like the grip of Hercules." Without this rugged strength he could never have endured the strain that the nation later put upon him.

In 1834 he resolved to begin the study of law. A friend in Springfield offered to lend him some books; Lincoln walked there, twenty-two miles from New Salem (where he then lived), and, it is said, brought back with him four heavy volumes of Blackstone, at the end of the same day.

A few years later he opened a law office in Springfield. In 1846 "Honest Abe," as his neighbors and friends called him, was elected to Congress; and in 1860, to the presidency of the United States, by the Republican party (Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, Vice President). The Democratic party had split into a Northern and a Southern party. The former had nominated Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, and the latter John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky. The former American (or "Know Nothing") party, which now called itself the "Constitutional Union Party," had nominated John Bell of Tennessee. Lincoln received nearly half a million more votes than Douglas, and more than a million in excess of those cast for either of the other candidates.

¹ In 1790, just after the foundation of the government, the free states (that is, the northern states; they had comparatively few slaves) had 14 senators and 35 representatives in Congress; the slave states, 12 senators and 30 representatives. From 1796 to 1812, inclusive, the free states and the slave states had an equal number in the Senate, but the free states had a majority in the House. After 1848 the free states had a majority in both Senate and House, and in the latter this majority was constantly increasing. That fact meant that the South had lost its political power, partly because slavery had failed to get a foothold in the Far West, but mainly because the North had outgrown the South in population.



A. Lincoln

that it had been under consideration for many years. The declaration of secession was welcomed in the streets of Charleston with the firing of cannon and the ringing of bells. The citizens believed that they had broken up the Union, and that South Carolina had

now, as its governor said, become a "free and independent state."

316. Secession of Six Other Southern States; Formation of the "Confederate States of America." By the first of February (1861) the states of Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas — making seven in all — had likewise withdrawn from the Union. A seceding senator rashly declared that they had left the national government "a corpse lying in state in Washington." Delegates from these states met at Montgomery, Alabama. They



BOYHOOD OF LINCOLN

framed a government (1861) and took the name of the "Confederate States of America," with Montgomery as the capital; then they elected Jefferson Davis¹ of Mississippi, President of the Confederacy, and Alexander H. Stephens² of Georgia, Vice President.

¹ Jefferson Davis was born in Kentucky in 1808; died, 1889. He graduated at West Point Military Academy in 1828. In 1845 he was elected to Congress by the Democrats in Mississippi, of which state he had become a resident. He served with distinction in the Mexican War. In 1847 he entered the United States Senate, where, like Calhoun, he advocated "State Sovereignty" (§ 269) and the extension of slavery. President Pierce made him Secretary of War. He was United States senator under Buchanan. His state (Mississippi) seceded on January 9, 1861. Mr. Davis kept his seat in the Senate until January 21, and then, with a speech asserting the right of secession, he withdrew to join the Southern Confederacy.

² Alexander H. Stephens was born in Georgia in 1812; died, 1883. He was in Congress as a representative of the Whigs from 1843 to 1859. He afterwards joined the Democrats. He at first opposed secession, and said that it was "the height of madness, folly, and wickedness"; but when Georgia seceded, he decided that it was his duty to stand by his state. After the Civil War he again entered Congress, and in 1882 he was elected governor of Georgia. He was a man who had the entire respect of those who knew him.

The Confederate States now cast aside the Stars and Stripes, and hoisted a new flag, the Stars and Bars, in its place.

317. Why the South seceded; Seizure of National Property; the *Star of the West* fired on. What took these seven states — soon to be followed by four more — out of the Union? The answer is, It was first their conviction that slavery would thrive better by being separated from the influence of the North; and, secondly, it was their belief in "State Rights," or, better, "State Sovereignty" (§ 269), upheld by South Carolina as far back as Jackson's presidency. According to that idea, any state was justified in separating itself from the United States whenever it became convinced that it was for its interest to withdraw.

In this act of secession many of the people of the South took no direct part, — a large number being, in fact, utterly opposed to it, — but the political leaders were fully determined on separation. Their aim was to establish a great slaveholding republic of which they should be head.¹

President Buchanan made no attempt to prevent the states from seceding; part of his cabinet were Southern men, who were in full sympathy with the Southern leaders, and the President did not see how to act.

The seceded states seized the forts, arsenals, and other national property within their limits, so far as they could do so. Fort Sumter, commanded by Major Anderson of the United States army, in Charleston harbor, was one of the few where the Stars and Stripes remained flying. President Buchanan had made an effort to send men and supplies to Major Anderson by the merchant steamer *Star of the West* (January 9, 1861); but the people of Charleston fired upon the steamer, and compelled her to go back.

¹ Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President of the Confederacy, said, in a speech at Savannah, March 21, 1861: "The prevailing idea entertained by him [Jefferson] and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution [the Constitution of the United States] was that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle — socially, morally, and politically. . . . Our new government [the Southern Confederacy] is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its corner stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery — subordination to the superior race — is his natural and normal condition." — MCPHERSON'S *Political History of the Rebellion*, p. 103.

All eyes were now turned toward Abraham Lincoln. The great question was, What will he do when he becomes President?

318. General Summary from Washington to Buchanan (1789–1861); Growth of the West; Secession. Looking back to the beginning of the presidency of Washington (1789), we see that over seventy years had elapsed since the formation of the Union. We then had a population of less than 4,000,000; at the outbreak of secession (1860) we had eight times that number, and much more than eight times the wealth possessed by us in 1789. Thus, from a small and poor nation we had grown to be great and prosperous.

In 1789 our western boundary was the Mississippi, and there seemed no prospect that we should extend beyond it. Long be-

fore 1861 we had reached the Pacific. Our original 800,000 square miles had increased to over 3,000,000; and the original thirteen states had added to themselves twenty-one more, besides immense territories. (Map, p. 286.)



ON THE WAY TO COLORADO

In 1789 we had but five cities, — New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston, — and they were so small that they were hardly worthy of the name. By 1861 five of these places had grown enormously in population and wealth; furthermore, Brooklyn, Detroit, Cincinnati, and St. Louis had become large and flourishing cities, and we had added to them Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis,¹ Indianapolis, Milwaukee, New Orleans, Galveston, Kansas City, and Salt Lake City, besides Portland, Seattle, and San Francisco in the Far West; all but the last six were connected with one another by railways and lines of telegraph.

In fact, the western and northwestern parts of the country had advanced "by leaps and bounds," so that every year beheld it

¹ The eastern part of what is now Minneapolis was incorporated as a city, under the name of St. Anthony, in 1860. The west side, named Minneapolis, was incorporated as a city in 1867; in 1872 the two were united under that name.

coming more and more to the front. Emigrants, miners, and other pioneers of civilization were constantly pushing forward into the vast region beyond the Mississippi. There they were building the first rude shanties of settlements which were to become known as Omaha (1854) and Denver (1858), and they were laying the foundations of the twelve great states¹ which, with West Virginia, have since joined the Union.

But between 1789 and 1861 there was this sad difference: Washington had found and left us a united people; Buchanan, a divided people. Seven of our states had seceded; four more would go. For many years we had been brothers; now we were fast becoming enemies. Only let the word be spoken, and our swords would leap from their scabbards, and we would fly at each other's throats.

What had brought about this deplorable change? Time. Time had strengthened slavery at the South and freedom at the North. It was no longer possible for both to dwell together in peace under the same flag. Either the Union must be dissolved, or those who loved the Union must fight to save it; and, before the war should end, must fight to make it wholly free. If freedom should triumph, then lasting peace would be restored; for then the North and the South — no longer separated by slavery — would again become one great, prosperous, and united people.

¹ The twelve states are Kansas, Nevada, Nebraska, Colorado, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Washington, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, and Oklahoma. They entered the Union between January, 1861, and November, 1907.

VIII

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. . . . We here highly resolve . . . that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth." —PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S *Address at Gettysburg, November 19, 1863.*

THE CIVIL WAR¹

(APRIL, 1861—APRIL, 1865)

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN POWER

ABRAHAM LINCOLN (REPUBLICAN) AND ANDREW JOHNSON
(WAR DEMOCRAT)

319. Lincoln's and Johnson's Administrations (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Presidents, Two Terms,² 1861–1869); the President's Arrival at Washington; his Inaugural Address; his Intentions toward the Seceded States. President Lincoln's friends believed that it would not be safe for him to make the last part of his journey to Washington publicly; and he therefore reached the national capital secretly by a special night train.

¹ **Reference Books** (the Civil War). W. Wilson's "Division and Reunion," ch. 8–10; T. A. Dodge's "A Bird's-Eye View of Our Civil War" (revised edition); W. C. Bryant and Gay's "United States" (revised edition), IV, ch. 17–19; V, ch. 7–18; J. Schouler's "Civil War"; A. B. Hart's "American History by Contemporaries," IV, ch. 18–22; A. B. Hart's "Source Book," pp. 296–335; F. E. Chadwick's "Causes of the Civil War"; J. K. Hosmer's "The Appeal to Arms"; J. K. Hosmer's "Outcome of the Civil War." See also the classified List of Books in the Appendix.

² Abraham Lincoln (§ 315, note 2) was elected President by the Republican party (Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, Vice President), in 1860, over Douglas and Breckenridge, the two candidates of the Northern and the Southern Democrats, and Bell, the candidate of the "Constitutional Union" party. He was again elected by the Republicans in 1864 (Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, Vice President) over General George B. McClellan, the Democratic candidate. President Lincoln was assassinated April 14, 1865, one month and ten days after entering upon his second administration. Vice President Johnson then became President

At his inauguration (March 4, 1861) he said: "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so; and I have no inclination to do so." But the President also declared in the same speech that he held the Union to be perpetual, and that he should do his utmost to keep the oath he had just taken "to preserve, protect, and defend it" (§ 199). He furthermore declared that the government had no intention of beginning war against the seceded states, but would only use its power to retake the forts and other national property which had been seized by the Confederacy.

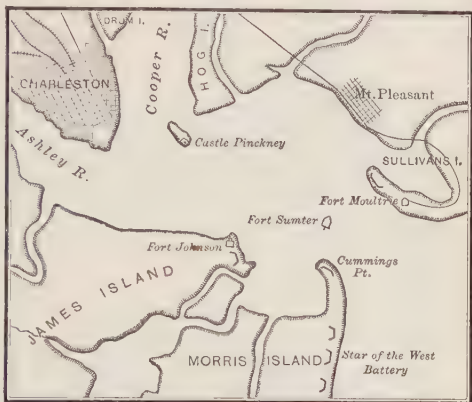
At this time the general feeling throughout the northern states was a strong desire for peace and a willingness to assure the southern states that their constitutional right¹ to hold slaves should not be interfered with.

FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR (APRIL, 1861—APRIL, 1862)

320. Major Anderson's Condition at Fort Sumter; the First Gun of the War; Surrender of the Fort. Major Anderson now sent a message to the President, stating that he could not long

for the remainder of the term. President Lincoln, on first entering office, chose William H. Seward, Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury; Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy; and Simon Cameron, Secretary of War (succeeded, January 15, 1862, by Edwin M. Stanton). During the Civil War they rendered services of inestimable value to the President and to the nation.

¹ See the Constitution (as it then stood), Article IV, Section 2, Paragraph 3, "*No person held to service,*" etc.



CHARLESTON HARBOR

Showing Fort Sumter and the battery which fired on the *Star of the West*

continue to hold Fort Sumter unless provisions were sent to him. His entire garrison, aside from some laborers, consisted of eighty-five officers and men; the Confederate force in Charleston was about 7000. The government immediately made arrangements to send the needed supplies. As soon as Jefferson Davis heard of it, he ordered General Beauregard, in command of the



FORT SUMTER

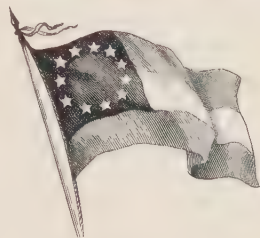
Confederate army at Charleston, to demand the surrender of the fort.

Major Anderson declined to surrender, and at daybreak, April 12, 1861, the Confederates fired the first gun at the fort. It was answered by one from Sumter. War had begun. For thirty-four hours nineteen batteries rained shot and shell against the fort, which continued to fire back. Notwithstanding this tremendous cannonade, no one was killed on either side. But Major Anderson, finding that his ammunition was nearly exhausted, and having nothing but pork to eat, decided to give up the fort. On Sunday (April 14) he, with his garrison, left the fort and embarked for New York; he carried with him the shot-torn flag under which he and his men had fought (§ 358).

321. President Lincoln's Call for Volunteers; the Rising of the North. The next day (April 15, 1861) President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers for three months' service, for few then supposed that the war, if there was really to be a war, would last longer than that. In response to the President's call the whole North seemed to rise. Men of all parties forgot their political quarrels, and hastened to the defense of the capital. The heart of the people stood by the Union, and by the old flag. Within thirty-six hours several companies from Pennsylvania had reached Washington. They were speedily followed by the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment — the first full regiment to march. They had to fight their way through a mob at Baltimore. There, on April 19, 1861, the day on which the Revolutionary battles of Lexington and Concord were fought, the first Union soldiers gave their lives for the preservation of the nation.

Many of the volunteers were lads under twenty, and some of them had never left home before. There were many affecting scenes when the "boys in blue"¹ started for Washington. Anxious mothers took tearful leave of sons, whom they feared they should never see again. The peril of the republic touched men in all conditions of life as nothing ever had before. Farmers left their plows, mechanics dropped their tools, clerks said farewell to their employers, college students threw down their books — all hurried to take their places in the ranks, and even lads of fifteen begged to go as drummer boys.

On the Southern side there were the same anxious leave-takings; for it should be borne in mind that while the people of the North were eager to offer their lives for the defense of the Union, the



THE CONFEDERATE FLAG
The Stars and Bars



THE SHOT-TORN FLAG WHICH
ANDERSON CARRIED AWAY
FROM FORT SUMTER

¹ The Union soldiers wore blue uniforms; the Confederates, gray.

people of the South were just as eager to give theirs to repel what they considered invasion.

322. Secession of Four More States; General Butler's "Contrabands." President Lincoln's call for troops made it necessary for the remaining slave states to decide at once whether they would remain in the Union or go out. Virginia¹ joined the Confederacy; but the western part of the state had voted against secession, and later it became a separate state (1863) under the name of West Virginia. The Confederate capital was soon removed from Montgomery to Richmond (§ 316). Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina followed the example of Virginia; but Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri did not secede. By the middle of June the Confederacy consisted of eleven states; no more were added.

General Butler of Massachusetts held command of Fort Monroe² in eastern Virginia. It was the only Union stronghold in the state, and was of the very highest importance. A number of slaves came to the general and begged him to set them free. He had no authority to give them their liberty. On the other hand, he was certain that if he returned these slaves to their masters they would use them in carrying on the war against the Union. Finally, General Butler got out of the difficulty by saying, These negroes are *contraband of war*³; then putting spades in the hands of the "contrabands," as they were henceforth called, he set them to work to strengthen the fort. General Butler's action was the first decided blow struck at the existence of slavery after the commencement of the war.

323. Condition of the North and of the South with Respect to the War. In regard to the terrible struggle now about to begin between the North and the South, each of the combatants had certain advantages over the other.

¹ The secession of eastern Virginia immensely increased the military difficulties with which the North had to contend. Had Virginia remained in the Union (as she seemed at one time likely to do), the war would probably have been of short duration.

² Commonly called Fortress Monroe, but *officially* designated Fort Monroe.

³ Contraband of war: here meaning, forfeited by the customs or laws of war. General Butler's idea was that the laws of war forbade his returning any property to the Confederates which they could use in carrying on the contest.

1. At the North the national government had more than twice as many men to draw on as the South.¹

2. The North, although unprepared for war, had iron mills, shipyards, foundries, machine shops, and factories of all kinds. For this reason it could make everything its soldiers would need, from a blanket to a battery.

3. The North had the command of the sea, and so with its war vessels — most of which, however, it had to buy or build — it could shut up the Southern ports and cut them off from help from abroad.

The South had the following advantages :

1. It had prepared for the war by getting possession of large quantities of arms and ammunition (though it had small means of getting any more).

2. With the exception of General Scott and a few others who stood by the Union, it had a majority of the best known officers in the regular army, — such men as Robert E. Lee of Virginia² and General Beauregard.

3. It could send all of its fighting men to the front, while it kept several millions of slaves at work raising food to support them.

4. It was able to fight on the defensive, on its own soil, and so required fewer soldiers.

General Grant thought that the two armies, all things considered, were about equally matched.

324. How Money was raised to carry on the War; National Banks. The national government needed immense sums of money to pay the Union soldiers, and to obtain arms and military supplies. The South, on the other hand, was soon practically cut off from

¹ The total population of the United States in 1860 was, in round numbers, 32,000,000. The Union states, including the border states, had about 23,000,000; the eleven seceded states about 9,000,000, of which nearly 3,500,000 were slaves. Both sides drew men from the border states.

² General Lee was born in Virginia, 1807; died, 1870. He was a graduate of West Point and served with distinction in the Mexican War (§ 292). When Virginia seceded, Lee, who was then a lieutenant colonel in the United States army, said, "I recognize no necessity for this state of things," yet he felt it his duty to go with his state. He said, "With all my devotion to the Union . . . I have not been able to make up my mind to raise my hand against my relatives, my children, my home." He was made commander in chief of the Virginia state forces. In 1862 he received—subject to the orders of Jefferson Davis—the entire command of "the armies of the Confederacy." His management of the war showed that he was a man of great military ability, and of entire devotion to what he understood to be his duty.

selling its cotton or from raising money in any way. The national government obtained it in four ways :

1. By calling on the people of the North for many kinds of new taxes.

2. By a war tariff which increased the duties collected on imported goods, and compelled payment of such duties in gold.

3. By issuing enormous quantities of paper money, commonly called "greenbacks."

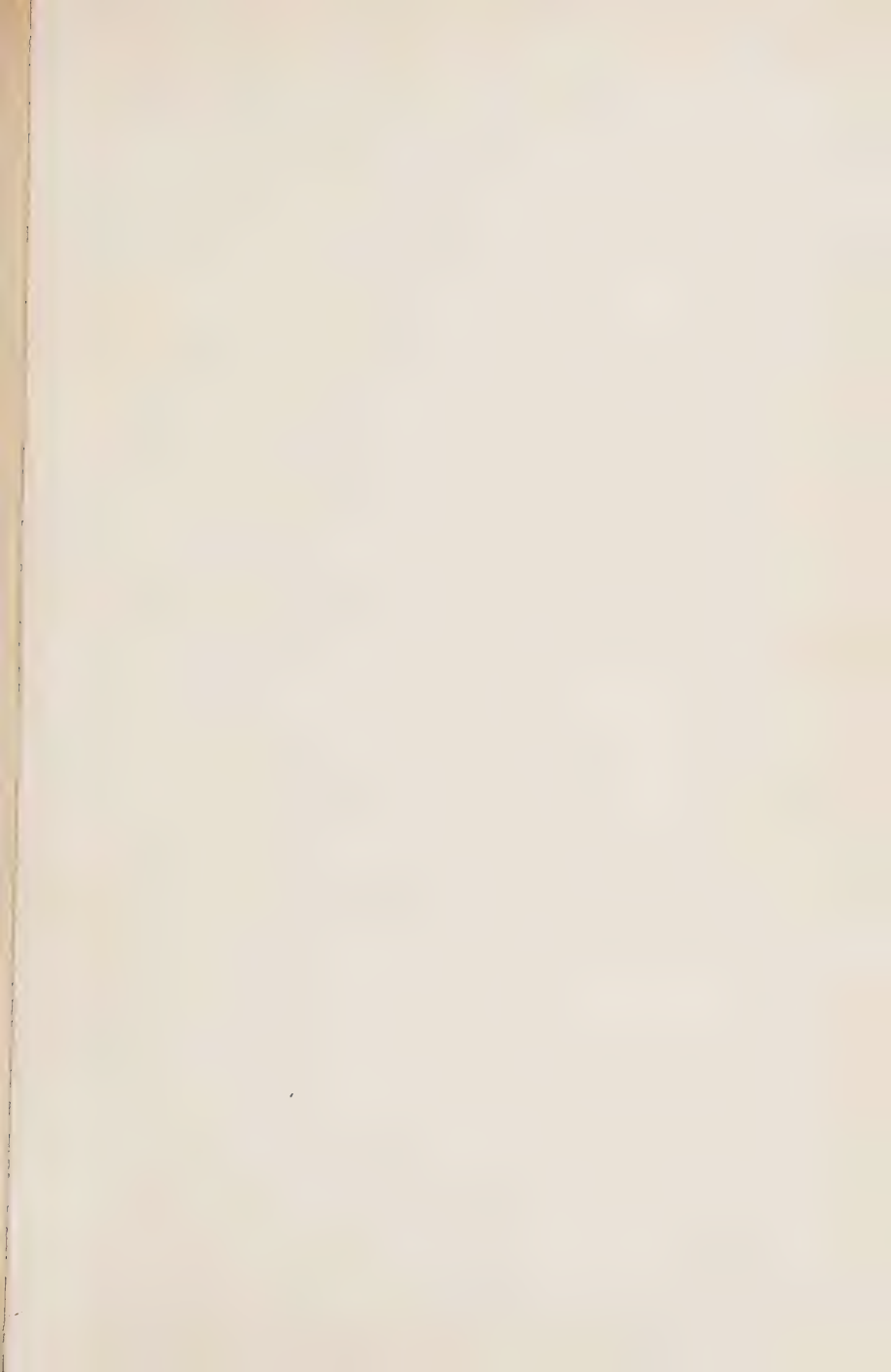
4. Finally, and chiefly, by borrowing hundreds of millions of dollars both at home and abroad. In return for these loans the national government gave bonds which promised to repay the borrowed money in a certain number of years, and to pay interest on it at from six to over seven per cent per year.

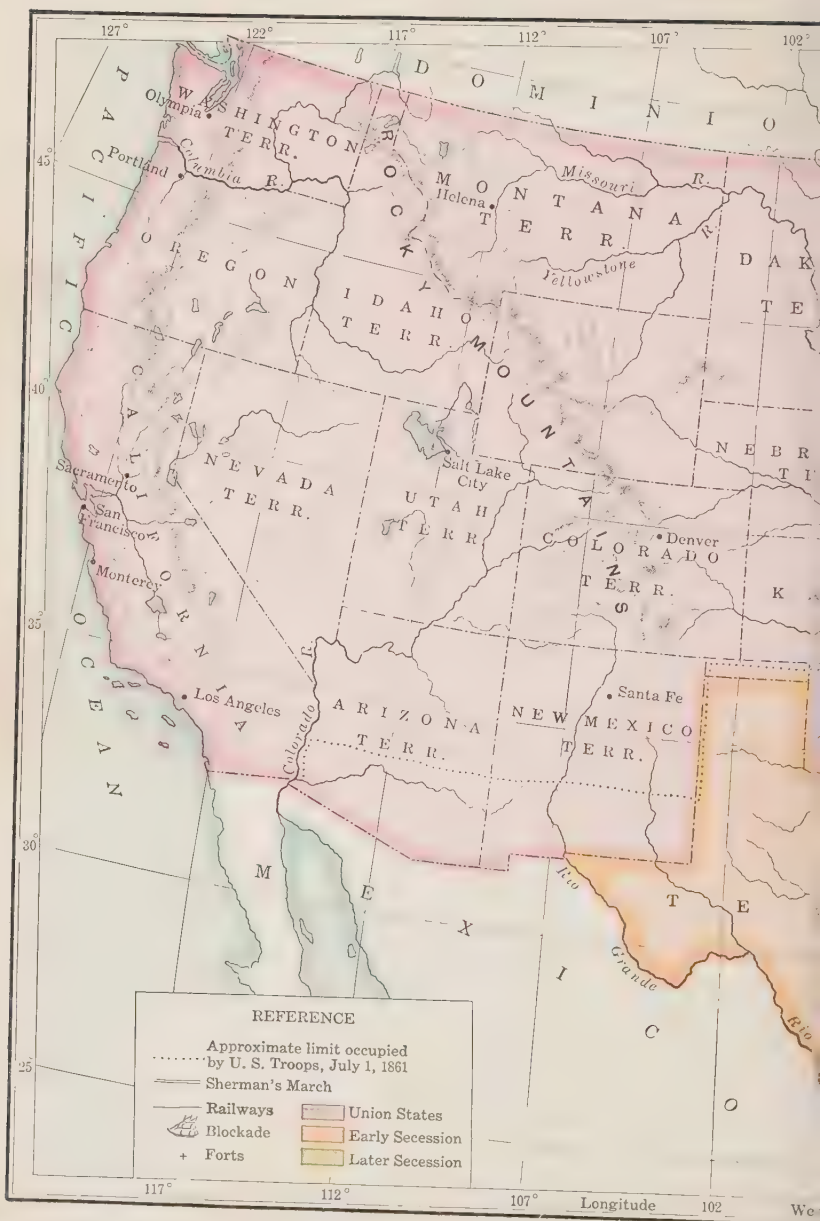
In order to obtain these loans more readily, the government created (1863) a great system of new banks called National Banks. The state and city banks then in existence (§ 265) had this disadvantage : their paper money often would not pass in another state except at a loss to the holder. On this account people frequently could not tell, when away from home, what a dollar bill was really worth. But the national-bank bills have always been good all over the United States, because the banks which issue them are obliged by law to deposit government bonds with the treasurer at Washington as security.¹ In time all state and city banks became National Banks.

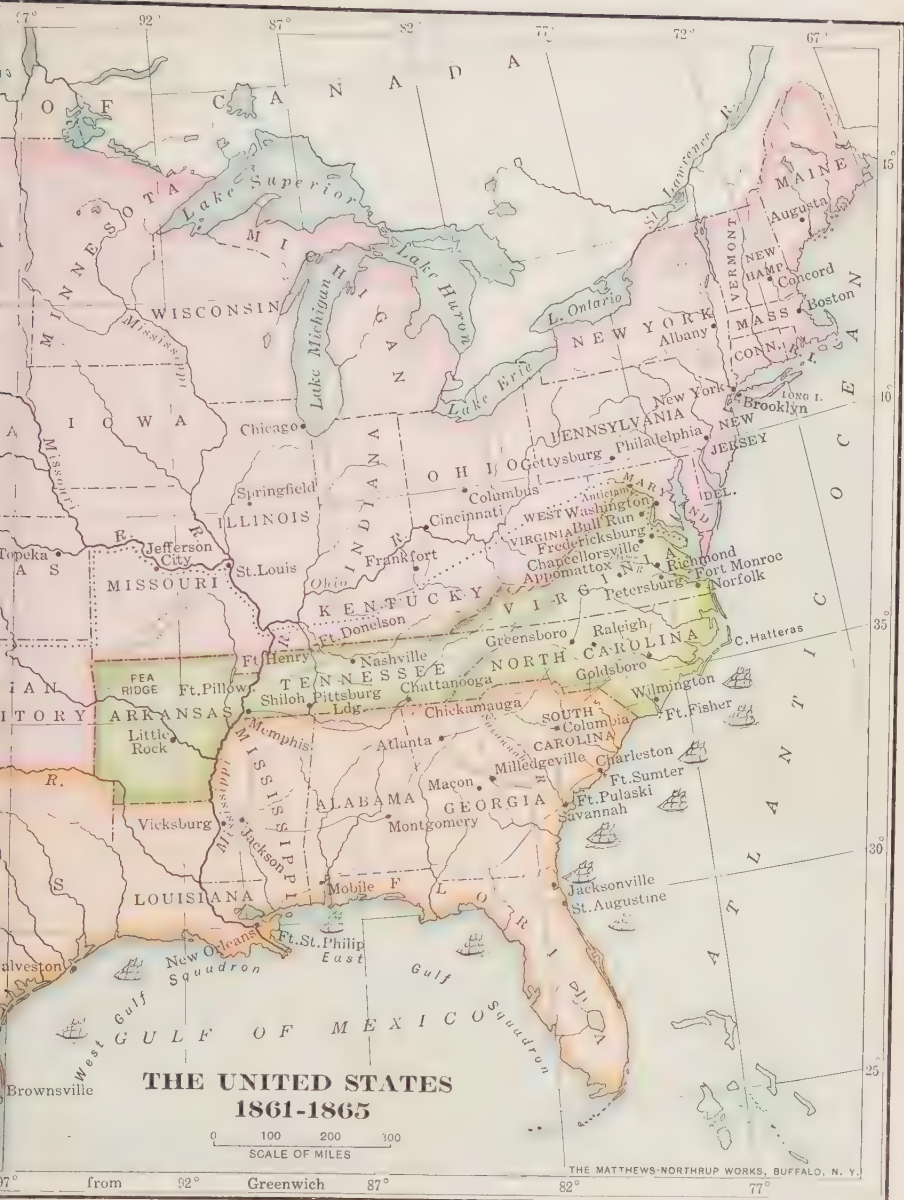
325. The Number and Position of the Two Armies. President Lincoln's first call for troops was quickly followed by others, and the South likewise strengthened its side. By the summer of 1861 the Union forces probably numbered about 180,000, and those of the Confederates 150,000. The former were under the direction of the veteran General Scott (§ 292), and the latter under General Beauregard.² The Union army was mainly in eastern Virginia and

¹ By the act of 1863 (materially changed in 1900), National Banks were compelled to borrow money from the national government, to the amount of 90 per cent of the bills they issued, and to deposit the bonds they received from the government with the treasurer at Washington.

² General Joseph E. Johnston ranked above General Beauregard, and after the battle of Bull Run (July 21, 1861), in which he took a leading part, he held command of the Confederate army of Virginia until he was wounded at the battle of Seven Pines, May 31, 1862, when General Lee took command.







Maryland. It extended along the banks of the Potomac from Harpers Ferry to the mouth of the river, and thence southward to Fort Monroe. The Confederate army held the country south of the Potomac, with Richmond as its fortified center. (Map, p. 286.)

In Missouri the national troops, under General Lyon, Frémont,¹ and Halleck, got control of that state, while General McClellan drove the Confederates from West Virginia. In the southwest the Confederates had got possession of the Mississippi from New Orleans to Columbus, Kentucky, by building forts on the banks of the river. They were preparing to do the same on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, and they hoped to get the entire control of Kentucky besides.

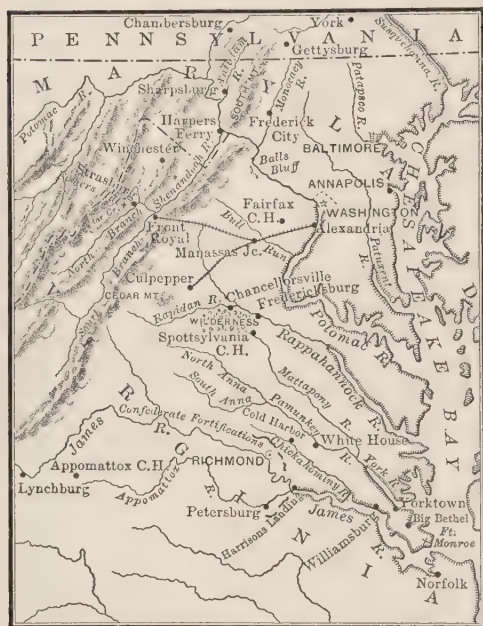
326. The Battle of Bull Run. The cry at the South was, "On to Washington!" It was answered by the cry of the North, "On to Richmond!" Beauregard had taken up his position at Manassas Junction on a small stream called Bull Run. There he could both protect the Confederate capital and threaten Washington. He had an army of about 30,000. General McDowell, in command, in the field, of the Union forces, had about the same number.² One army, as President Lincoln said, was as "green" as the other. McDowell advanced, not because he was ready, but for the simple reason that the North was tired of waiting and was impatient to strike a decisive blow.

The battle began on a sweltering hot Sunday in July (July 21, 1861). At first the Union troops drove the Confederates from their position. General Bee, one of the Southern leaders, rushing

¹ General Frémont was born at Savannah in 1813. Under the authority of the government he began the exploration of the Rocky Mountains and of an overland route to the Pacific in 1842-1844. In 1845 he set out on another exploring expedition to the Pacific coast. After the outbreak of the Mexican War he, with the assistance of American settlers in California, freed that territory from the authority of Mexico, and in the summer of 1846 he was appointed governor of the territory. By treaty with Mexico in 1847 Frémont secured California to the United States. In 1856 he was nominated to the presidency (as the Anti-slavery candidate) by the Republican party. From 1878 to 1881 he was governor of Arizona. In the summer of 1861 Frémont issued a proclamation emancipating the slaves of all persons in Missouri who were in arms against the Union; but President Lincoln refused to approve it.

² In the Civil War the Confederates counted in battle only those of their men who were present and able to fight; but the Union officers, on the contrary, counted all as present whose names were on their army rolls. See General Grant's "Personal Memoirs," II, 290, and "The Century Company's War Book," I, 485.

up to General Jackson, cried out, "General, they are beating us back!" "We will give them the bayonet," said Jackson, quietly. Rallying his men, Bee shouted, "Look! there is Jackson standing like a stone wall!" It was true; and "Stonewall" Jackson,¹ as the Confederate general was ever after called, used "the bayonet" to check the Union advance. Then the Southerners held their ground until heavy reinforcements came up, by rail, from the Shenandoah



valley, and drove the Union troops from the hard-fought field. As the Confederate General J.E. Johnston says: "The Northern army fought under the great disadvantage of having to make the attack. They fled back to Washington in confusion."

327. Results of the Defeat at Bull Run.

Some failures are stepping-stones to success. The defeat at Bull Run was such a case. Instead of discouraging the people of the North, it roused them to new

and greater effort. At the very time the defeated and disheartened Union soldiers were pouring over the Long Bridge across the Potomac into Washington, Congress voted to raise 500,000 men and \$500,000,000 to carry on the war.

¹ General T. J. Jackson of Virginia, born 1824; died 1863. He was one of the most remarkable men who fought on the side of the South. His motto was, "Do your duty, and leave the rest to Providence." His death was the heaviest personal loss, except perhaps that of General A. S. Johnston (§ 332), which the South sustained during the war. Lee called "Stonewall" Jackson his "right arm"; in his department he ranked as one of the ablest generals in the Confederacy, and was respected alike by those who fought under him and those who fought against him.

The cry of the North was now, "Drill and organize!" General McClellan came from West Virginia (§ 325) to take command of the army. He taught the men the great lesson, that enthusiasm without military organization is of no more use than steam without an engine. For the next six months and more "all was quiet on the Potomac";¹ that quiet, however, meant that both sides were getting ready to fight in terrible earnest.

328. Union Plan of the War. Gradually a plan for the war in defense of the Union took shape; it was this:

1. To station vessels of war in front of all Southern ports (Map, p. 286), and thus cut off the South from getting supplies from abroad for carrying on the contest. This blockade by the Union navy was of immense help, and without it the contest might have dragged on for many years longer than it did.

2. To attack and take Richmond.

3. To open the lower Mississippi, with the Tennessee and the Cumberland, which the Confederate forts had closed to navigation.

4. To break through the Confederate line in the West, march an army to the Atlantic, and thence northward to Virginia.

329. Blockade Runners; Confederate War Vessels; Seizure of Mason and Slidell. While the Union forces were getting possession of Fort Hatteras, Port Royal, and other points on the coast of North and South Carolina, fast Southern vessels ran the gantlet of the blockade to obtain arms and ammunition; furthermore, British steamers, specially built for the work, often succeeded in evading the Union cruisers and in bringing supplies for the Confederates. Jefferson Davis had no navy, but he succeeded in buying or building a number of war vessels in Great Britain, which in time destroyed so many merchant ships owned in the North that unarmed vessels no longer dared to carry the Stars and Stripes. Later, the *Alabama*, built in England, was added to the Confederate fleet and inflicted immense damage on Union commerce, for which at the end of the war England had to pay roundly (§ 374).

¹ On October 21, 1861, a body of Union troops, 2000 strong, was beaten by a large force of Confederates at Ball's Bluff on the Potomac, and on August 10 of the same year General Lyon was defeated and killed at the battle of Wilson's Creek, Missouri.

Early in November (1861) the Confederacy undertook to send two commissioners or agents — Mason and Slidell — to Europe to get aid for the Southern cause and also to endeavor to persuade England and France to acknowledge the independence of the Confederate States.

Captain Wilkes of the United States navy stopped the British mail steamer *Trent*, on which Mason and Slidell had embarked for England, and took them both prisoners. England at once

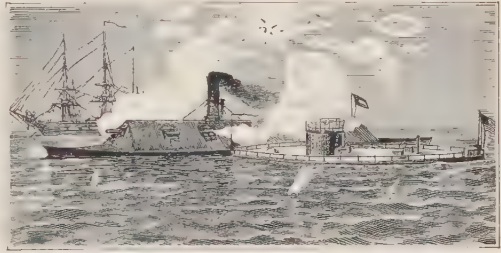


RUNNING THE BLOCKADE, — UNION CRUISER IN PURSUIT

demanding that the national government should give them up. The North protested, but President Lincoln said: "We fought Great Britain in 1812 for doing just what Captain Wilkes has done. We must give up the prisoners to England." It was done, but Mason and Slidell never succeeded in accomplishing anything of importance for the Confederacy.

330. The *Merrimac* destroys the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*; the *Monitor*. At the beginning of the great struggle the Confederates seized the navy yard at Norfolk, Virginia, and got

possession of the United States ship of war *Merrimac*. They plated the vessel with railway iron and sent her out to destroy the Union war vessels at the mouth of the James River off Fort Monroe. (Map, p. 288.) The Union ships were of wood, and the balls from their guns could no more penetrate the iron shell of the monster which now attacked them than a sparrow's bill could penetrate the back of an alligator. The *Merrimac* sunk the *Cumberland*, which carried down with her many sick and wounded men;¹ she then destroyed the *Congress*. The next day (Sunday, March 9, 1862) the *Merrimac* returned to complete the destruction of the fleet; suddenly a strange little craft appeared, looking like a "cheese box on a raft." This was the *Monitor*,² a new Union war vessel built of iron and commanded by Lieutenant Worden. The *Merrimac* now found that she had got her match. After a terrific battle the Confederate vessel hurried back to Norfolk.



THE "MONITOR" AND THE "MERRIMAC"

Lieutenant Worden's "Little Giant" had won the day. If the *Merrimac* had gained the victory, she might next have gone up the Potomac and destroyed the national capital. In that case European nations might have acknowledged the independence of the South, and demanded that the blockade be raised and the ports of the Confederacy thrown open to the commerce of the world. The United States now built more monitors, and by the end of the year had a fleet of several hundred effective war vessels of different kinds, both on the ocean and on the western rivers.

¹ See Longfellow's poem on the loss of the *Cumberland*.

² The *Monitor* was built by Captain Ericsson, the inventor of the screw propeller for steamships, and of the hot-air engine. She was an iron vessel of small size, sitting so low in the water that scarcely anything of her hull was visible. In the center of her deck stood a revolving iron turret, which carried two cannon, sending solid shot weighing one hundred and sixty-six pounds. The success of the *Monitor* stimulated the construction of iron or steel war vessels throughout the world. Eventually they entirely superseded wooden ships of war.

331. The War in the West; Capture of Fort Henry and Fort Donelson. At the West the line of the Confederate army, under General A. S. Johnston, stretched from Mill Spring and Bowling Green, in Kentucky, through Fort Donelson on the Cumberland and Fort Henry on the Tennessee, to Columbus on the Mississippi. (Map, below.) General Halleck,¹ in command of the greater part of the Union forces of the West, resolved to break that line, to enter the cotton states, and also to open the Mississippi. In



January (1862), General Thomas gained a victory at Mill Spring and drove the Confederates out of eastern Kentucky. Then General Halleck ordered General U. S. Grant² to start from Cairo, Illinois,

¹ General Halleck was born near Utica, New York, 1815; died, 1872. He graduated at West Point and served in the Mexican War. He was appointed a major general of the United States army in August, 1861. He received command of the department of Missouri (with other states) in November, and of the department of the Mississippi in March, 1862. From July 11, 1862, to March, 1864, he was general in chief of the armies of the United States, and had his headquarters at Washington.

² General U. S. Grant was born in Ohio, 1822; died in New York, 1885. He was a graduate of West Point, and served in the Mexican War (§ 293), where he was promoted for meritorious conduct in battle. In 1859 he entered the leather and saddlery business with his father at Galena, Illinois. On the breaking out of the Civil War he raised a company of Union volunteers, and in August, 1861, he was made a brigadier general, and took command of the department of Cairo. His subsequent career will be traced in the pages of this history.

No terms except an unconditional and
immediate surrender can be accepted.
I propose to move immediately upon
your works.

I am Sir, very respectfully
your obt. servt.
A. A. Grant
Brig. Gen.

GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT'S UNCONDITIONAL
SURRENDER LETTER

and attack Fort Henry ; but Commodore Foote got there first with his gunboats and took it (February 6, 1862). Grant then moved on Fort Donelson. The battle raged for three days in succession ; then the Confederate General Buckner asked Grant what terms he would grant him if he gave up the fort. Grant wrote back, "*No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted.*"¹ The Confederates were forced to agree to Grant's conditions, and the first great Union victory of the war was won (February 16, 1862). Grant captured 15,000 prisoners — "the greatest number ever taken in any battle (up to that time) on this continent" — and also large quantities of arms. Columbus was now of no use to the Confederates and they abandoned it. The surrender of Nashville followed, and Kentucky and Tennessee were in the hands of the Union forces.

332. Battles of Pittsburg Landing and Island Number Ten. Grant, with his victorious army, then moved up the Tennessee River to Pittsburg Landing, or Shiloh. Here (April 6, 1862) he was attacked by General A. S. Johnston and driven back. The night after the battle General Buell brought a large force of Union troops. (Map, p. 292.) The Union men now outnumbered the Confederates by 17,000, and the next day Grant gained his second great victory. In his official report he said, "I am indebted to General Sherman for the success of that battle." On that hotly contested field 25,000 men had fallen dead or wounded ;² among them was General A. S. Johnston, one of the South's noblest men.³ On the following day (April 8, 1862) the Confederates on Island Number Ten, in the Mississippi (Map, p. 292), surrendered to Commodore Foote, after nearly a month's obstinate fighting. That victory was of immense importance, for it opened the river to the Union vessels down to Vicksburg, a distance of about three hundred miles.

333. General Summary of the First Year of the War (April, 1861–April, 1862). The Civil War began (April 12, 1861) with the

¹ Hence the name sometimes given General Grant of "Unconditional Surrender Grant." See copy of General Grant's letter to General Buckner on page 293.

² Union force, 57,000 ; Confederate, 40,000. Union loss, 14,000 ; Confederate, 11,000.

³ After he was wounded, General Johnston sent his surgeon to attend to some wounded Union prisoners ; while he was gone Johnston bled to death.

Confederate attack on Fort Sumter. After the surrender of that fort, the first great battle was fought in the summer at Bull Run, and resulted in the defeat of the Union army. The next spring (1862) the battle between the *Merrimac* and *Monitor* occurred, and the *Merrimac* was forced to retreat. During the year the Union forces in the West gained the important victories of Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Pittsburg Landing, and Island Number Ten. The general result of the year's war was decidedly favorable to the cause of the Union, especially in the West.

SECOND YEAR OF THE WAR (APRIL, 1862—APRIL, 1863)

334. Expedition against New Orleans; how the City was defended. Very early in the spring (1862) an expedition under Captain Farragut¹ and General Butler sailed from Fort Monroe to attack New Orleans, the most important city and port in the possession of the Confederate government. The approach to New Orleans was defended by two strong forts on the Mississippi, about seventy-five miles below the city.² These forts were nearly opposite each other, so that any vessels trying to pass between them would be exposed to a tremendous cross fire from their guns. Just below the forts the Confederates had stretched two heavy chain cables, on hulks, across the river to check any Union war ships that might attempt to come up, while above the forts they had stationed fifteen armed vessels—two of them ironclads like the *Merrimac* (§ 330). With these defenses the city defied attack.

Captain Farragut had a fleet of nearly fifty wooden vessels. It was considered to be the most powerful "that had ever sailed under

¹ Admiral David G. Farragut, born in Tennessee in 1801; died, 1870. He entered the navy in 1812. In 1841 he was made commander, and later captain. In 1862, after his famous victory at New Orleans, he was promoted to the rank of rear admiral, then (1864) to that of vice admiral, and in 1866 to that of admiral, the highest position in the United States navy; the last two grades were created for him. From 1823 to the outbreak of the Civil War, Farragut's home, when on shore, was at Norfolk, Virginia. He insisted that Virginia had been forced to secede against the will of the majority of the people of the state. From 1861 to the close of his life his home was at Hastings-on-the-Hudson.

² New Orleans is about one hundred and five miles from the sea. In the War of 1812 a single fort, at one of the points where those two Confederate forts stood, checked the advance of the British fleet for nine days.

the American flag." General Butler followed him to take command of a force of 15,000 men, to hold the city after its surrender. Farragut's work, with the aid of Commander Porter's mortar boats,¹ was to silence the forts, break through the chains, conquer the Confederate fleet, and take the city. One of the men who took part in that work was Lieutenant George Dewey, now Admiral Dewey, — the "Hero of Manila" (§ 415).

335. Bombardment of the Forts; Farragut passes them and destroys the Opposing Fleet; Capture of New Orleans. For six days and nights Commander Porter hammered away at the forts, and the forts hammered back. The discharge of artillery was deafening, and the shock so severe that it killed birds and fishes. It even broke glass in windows at Balize, thirty miles away.² Porter's men were completely exhausted by their labors at the guns, and the moment they were off duty they would drop down on the deck and fall fast asleep, amid the continuous roar of the battle.

Finally, Captain Farragut determined to make an attempt to cut through the chains and run past the forts. He succeeded in doing this, and, after a terrific combat, destroyed the Confederate fleet and reached New Orleans.

The river front of the city, for a distance of five miles, was all ablaze with burning ships, steamboats, and bales of cotton. The Confederates had set them on fire to prevent the Union forces from seizing them. A party of Farragut's men landed, speedily hauled down the Stars and Bars from the public buildings, and hoisted the Stars and Stripes in their place (April 25, 1862). Not long after this, Farragut was honored with the title of Rear Admiral.

Port Hudson and Vicksburg were now the only important fortified points on the Mississippi still held by the Confederates. If the Union forces could take them, the great river of the West

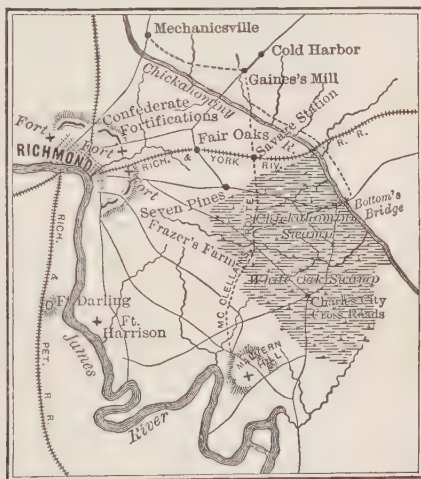
¹ Mortar boats: vessels for carrying mortars, — short and very wide-mouthed cannon for firing shells. The shells used here were hollow cast-iron balls of great size, weighing nearly three hundred pounds. They were filled with powder, and so constructed that when they fell they would explode with tremendous violence. The shells made a peculiar screaming, hissing noise as they flew through the air, accompanied by a train of smoke by day and of fire by night. When one buried itself in the earth inside of one of the forts and then exploded, the result was like that of a small earthquake.

² See Draper's "The American Civil War," II, 331.

would once more be open from its source to the sea. But both Port Hudson and Vicksburg stood on immensely high bluffs, out of the reach of the guns of the war vessels, so that it would be exceedingly difficult to capture them by an attack from the river. For this reason it was decided to let them alone until a land force could be sent to join in the attack.

Meanwhile, the Union navy had captured several important points on the coast of North and South Carolina.

336. The War in Virginia; McClellan's Advance on Richmond; the Peninsular Campaign; the Weather. Before Farragut had taken New Orleans, General McClellan with 100,000 men began an advance on Richmond from Fort Monroe. His plan was to move up the Peninsula—as the Virginians call the long and rather narrow strip of land between the James and York rivers. (Map, p. 288.) The Confederates did everything in their power to check his advance at Yorktown and Williamsburg, and later at Seven Pines or Fair Oaks.



Meanwhile, heavy rains compelled McClellan's army to wade, rather than march forward, through mud and water. To increase his difficulties the Chickahominy River overflowed its banks. (Map, above.) Part of his army was on one side of it and part on the other. For weeks they struggled in a swamp, building roads and bridges, and fighting the weather rather than the enemy. In this way McClellan lost an immense number of his men by sickness.

337. "Stonewall" Jackson's Raid; Stuart's Raid; Results of the Peninsular Campaign. Early in June (1862) General Lee (§ 323) took command of the Confederate forces shortly after

"Stonewall" Jackson (§ 326) had started to drive General Banks' Union army out of the Shenandoah valley,¹ in West Virginia, and make the authorities in Washington think that the capital was in danger of immediate attack. With his 17,000 men Jackson made Banks' 9000 beat a hasty retreat to the Potomac; and he effectually prevented McClellan from getting any help from the 40,000 Union troops at Fredericksburg. Then Lee sent General Stuart with a dashing body of cavalry to see what mischief he could do. Stuart rode clear round McClellan's army, tore up the railways, burned car loads of provisions, and made matters very uncomfortable for the Union general.

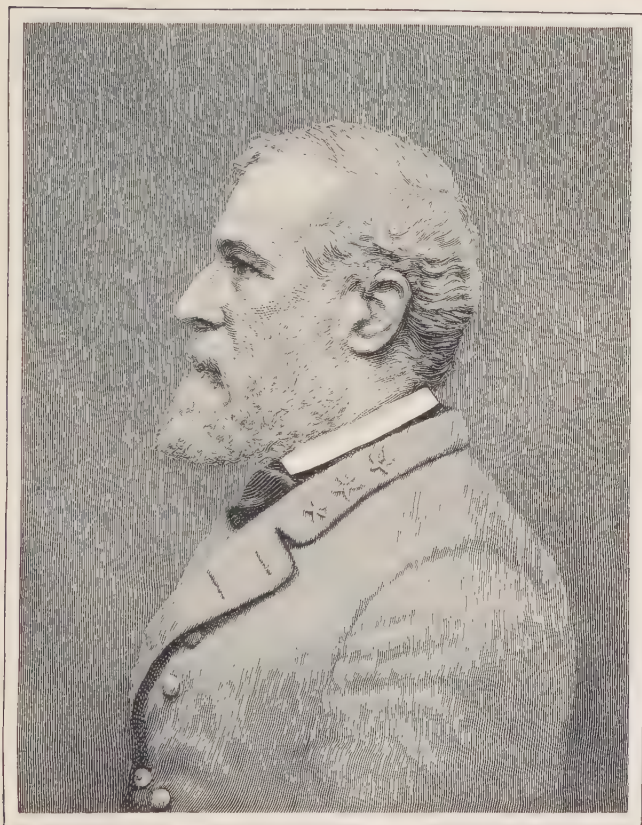
From June 25 to July 1 (1862), Lee and McClellan were engaged in a number of desperate fights around Richmond, known as the "Seven Days' Battles";² Lee captured many guns and prisoners; the Union forces retreated to the James River, and the government at Washington recalled McClellan and his army to the neighborhood of the national capital. In these last battles over 15,000 men had been lost on each side. The Union army had accomplished nothing decisive, though it had been within sight of the spires of the Confederate capital, and of the wooden or "Quaker guns" which helped to guard it.³ Once the alarm there was so great that a niece of Jefferson Davis wrote to a friend, "Uncle Jeff thinks we had better go to a safer place than Richmond." On the other hand, President Lincoln called for additional volunteers; and new forces, shouting, "We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more," began to go forward to the aid of the government.

338. The Second Battle of Bull Run; Lee's Advance across the Potomac; Battle of Antietam. Near the last of August (1862),

¹ General Joseph E. Johnston had been in command since the battle of Bull Run, July, 1861. He was wounded at the battle of Seven Pines, May 31, 1862, and Lee then took command.

² In the last of these battles, that at Malvern Hill, Lee's forces were driven back with heavy loss. During the Peninsular campaign the armies of Frémont, Banks, and McDowell were united under the name of the Army of Virginia, and the command of this force was given to General Pope, who had been successful in the West.

³ One of the humorous features of the war was the use of wooden cannon by the Confederates in their fortifications at Manassas, Richmond, and elsewhere. It was some time before the Union army found out this clever trick of the "Quaker guns," which, as a "contraband" said, were "just as good to *scare* with as any others."



GENERAL LEE

Lee advanced his forces against General Pope, who had been given command of the Army of Virginia, and met him in the second battle of Bull Run. "Stonewall" Jackson did the heaviest of the fighting. Pope was defeated, but fell back in good order to Washington and resigned his command.

Not long after, Lee crossed the Potomac above Washington, his men singing exultingly, "Maryland, my Maryland." Lee believed that thousands of the Maryland people would welcome him as their deliverer, and would join him in a march against Philadelphia. In this he was sorely mistaken. In the middle of September "Stonewall" Jackson captured Harpers Ferry, and thus obtained a quantity of arms and some provisions. McClellan now advanced to meet Lee. At Antietam Creek (or Sharpsburg) (Map, p. 288) one of the bloodiest battles of the war was fought (September 17, 1862); and the bodies of the "boys in blue" and of the "boys in gray" lay in ranks like swaths of grass cut by the scythe.¹ After the terrible contest Lee retreated across the Potomac. McClellan followed, but he moved so slowly that the government took the command of the army from him and gave it to General Burnside.

339. Battles of Fredericksburg and Murfreesboro. General Burnside set out to march on Richmond, but found the Confederates strongly fortified² on the hills around Fredericksburg, on the Rappahannock. (Map, p. 288.) In the battle which ensued (December 13, 1862) he was defeated and forced to fall back toward Washington. General Hooker, or "Fighting Joe Hooker" as his men called him, then took command of Burnside's army.

This was the last battle of the year in the East. In the West the Union forces had beaten the enemy at Pea Ridge, Arkansas, and had taken Corinth, Mississippi; the Confederates attempted to retake it, but were driven back with frightful loss. Bragg invaded Kentucky; Buell fought him at Perryville, and Bragg fled

¹ Union forces actually engaged at Antietam were estimated at about 60,000. McClellan's *available* strength was probably double that of Lee's. Confederate forces, 40,000. See "The Century Company's War Book," II, 603. Loss nearly 12,000 on each side. Authorities differ about the strength of the two armies. "Loss" in all cases is understood to include *wounded* as well as killed.

² Burnside had about 116,000 men; Lee had nearly 80,000 strongly entrenched on and near the hills. Burnside lost 12,000 men, and Lee not quite half that number.

with his plunder and took shelter behind the Cumberland Mountains. Grant and Sherman then moved against Vicksburg, but the Confederate cavalry cut off Grant's supplies and Sherman was repulsed. Next, General Rosecrans moved against Bragg. He met the Confederate general at Murfreesboro, Tennessee (December 31, 1862). (Map, p. 292.) Each had about 40,000 men. The contest raged for three days. Rosecrans said, "The battle must be won." The Union forces held their ground,¹ and Bragg retreated in the night.

340. President Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation, 1863; its Results; the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. President Lincoln had entered office resolved, as he then said, not to interfere with slavery (§ 319). But the progress of the contest convinced him that slavery was the real cause and the main strength of the war against the Union. He saw that he must strike slavery a decided blow.

On New Year's Day, 1863, the President issued a proclamation, freeing all the black men in those states of the South which were still at war against the Union. Thus by a single stroke of the pen the government gave over three millions of human beings that most precious yet most perilous of all rights — the ownership of themselves.

No greater event is recorded in the pages of American history. After the expiration of nearly a hundred years the nation at last included the negro in that Declaration of Independence, which declares that "all men are created equal," — that is, with equal natural rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Many thousands of these "freedmen" enlisted in the Union army; but the greater part remained quietly at work on the Southern plantations. The freedom of the whole body of slaves in the country was not secured until after the close of the war. Then the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution (1865) declared that slavery should no longer exist in the United States.² From an industrial point of view, that final act of emancipation has

¹ Union loss, 14,000; Confederate, 11,000.

² See the Constitution — Amendments, Article XIII.

proved to be as much an advantage to the white race as to the negroes themselves. Free labor has brought a greater degree of prosperity than slave labor ever did. Now that the South is no longer hampered by having to hold the negroes in bondage, it has found its real strength and its true and lasting prosperity.

341. Summary of the Second Year of the War (April, 1862–April, 1863). The one great military success of the year on the part of the Union forces was the taking of New Orleans. In the East, if McClellan and his successors failed to reach Richmond, Lee, on the other hand, failed just as completely and far more disastrously in his attempted invasion of the North. The Proclamation of Emancipation gave the war a new character. Up to this time the North had been fighting simply to restore the Union as it was before the South seceded; but now it fought to restore the Union without slavery, — to make the nation wholly *free*.

THIRD YEAR OF THE WAR (APRIL, 1863—APRIL, 1864)

342. The War in the East; Battle of Chancellorsville. In the spring (1863) General Hooker crossed the Rapidan, intending to advance on Richmond. But he had no sooner started than General Lee, with "Stonewall" Jackson (§ 326), met him at Chancellorsville.¹ (Map, p. 288.) Here a two days' battle was fought (May 2–3, 1863). At a critical moment General Hooker was stunned by a cannon ball and lay senseless for many hours. During all that time his army was "without a head."



"STONEWALL" JACKSON

Lee, with "Stonewall" Jackson's help, not only won the battle, but drove the Union forces back across the river. Still it was a dearly bought triumph for the Confederates, for "Stonewall" fell. If we except

¹ Union forces in the battle, 130,000; Confederate, 60,000. But see note 2 on page 287, on estimates of combatants. Union loss, 17,000; Confederate, about 12,000. General Lee gave Jackson all the credit of the victory.

REDUCED COPY OF A PART OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

January 1, 1863

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free; -----

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be
an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon
military necessity, I invoke the considerate judg-
ment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Al-
mighty God.

L.I. Independence of the United States
of America the eighty-seventh.

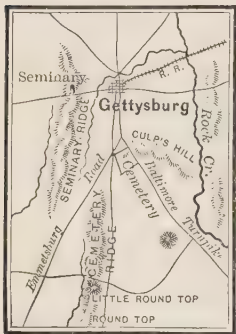
Abraham Lincoln

By the President;
William H. Seward
Secretary of State

¹ President Lincoln issued a preliminary proclamation of emancipation on September 22, 1862, giving one hundred days warning to the South. In case any state chose to return to the Union within that time its slaves were not to be set at liberty by the final proclamation.

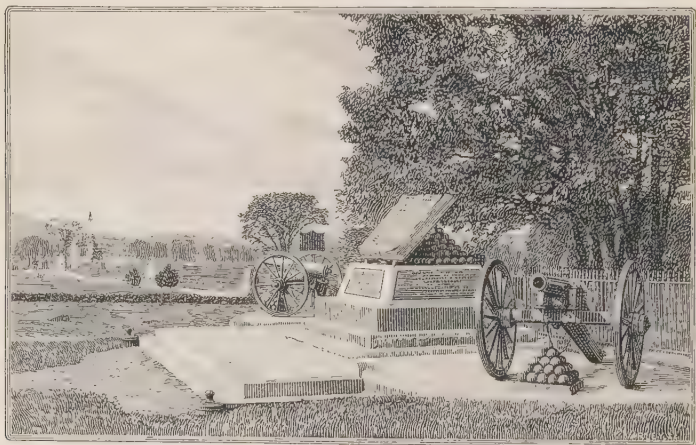
The President said: "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that."—Letter to Horace Greeley, August 22, 1862.

the loss of General A. S. Johnston (§ 332), the death of Jackson was the heaviest blow, of the kind, which the South suffered during the war. Chancellorsville was the last victory gained by the Confederates in Virginia in the "open country." The command of the Union army was now given to General Meade.



MAP OF GETTYSBURG

343. Battle of Gettysburg. A month after the battle of Chancellorsville, Lee made a second (§ 338) attempt to enter the free states and conquer a peace. He moved down the Shenandoah valley with about 70,000 men, crossed the Potomac in June (1863), and moved into Pennsylvania, intending to strike Harrisburg, the capital of the state, and then, if successful, to march on Philadelphia. General Meade, with a Union force of



THE HIGH-WATER-MARK MONUMENT

Erected at the "clump of trees" on the battlefield of Gettysburg, 1892

This monument was erected to commemorate the defeat, by the Union troops, of the famous charge of the Confederate column led by General Pickett. It consists of a large open bronze book which bears the inscription: "*High-Water Mark of the Rebellion.*" The book gives the names of the Confederate officers who led the attack and of the Union officers who repulsed it.

about 90,000,¹ met Lee at Gettysburg. Both armies felt that this was the place to fight.

Here one of the most important and decisive battles of the war took place. (Map, p. 288.) Both sides fought with desperate courage. The Confederates held Seminary Ridge; the Union men, Cemetery Ridge, nearly opposite. The battle lasted three days (July 1-3, 1863). On the first day the Confederates gained the advantage. On the second day Lee's men made a rush to get Little Round Top, but were beaten back with heavy loss. Later, they got a foothold on Culp's Hill, but were soon driven out. On the third day Lee sent General Pickett, with a force of 15,000 Confederates, to attack General Hancock on Cemetery Ridge.

In order to reach the ridge the Confederate force had to cross a mile of open ground. They came forward steadily, silently, under a terrible fire from the Union guns. Their ranks were plowed through and through with shot and shell, but the men did not falter. They



THE "SOLDIERS' MONUMENT" IN THE NATIONAL CEMETERY ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF GETTYSBURG

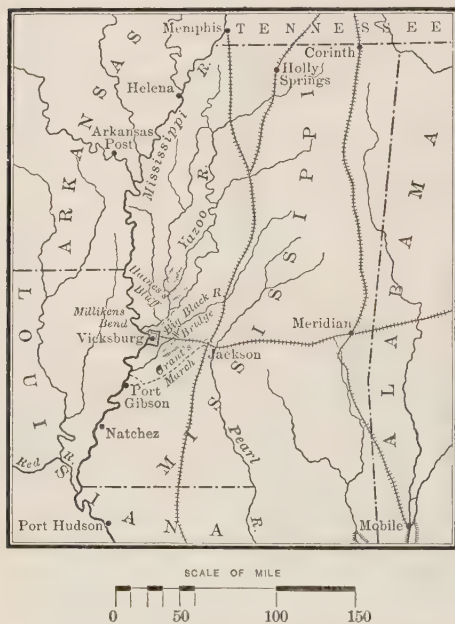
The battle of Gettysburg is generally considered as the turning point in the terrible struggle between the Confederate forces fighting to destroy the Union and the National forces which fought to preserve it.

¹ Official returns estimate that Lee had at least 70,000 men, and Meade 90,000.

charged up the slight rise of ground and broke a part of the Union line; but they could go no farther, and Pickett, with the fragments of his division, — for only fragments were left, — fell back defeated. It was the end of the most stubbornly fought battle of the war; nearly 50,000 brave men had fallen¹ in the contest; Lee had failed; he retreated across the Potomac and never made

another attempt to invade the North.²

344. The Surrender of Vicksburg and Port Hudson. While the great battle of Gettysburg was going on, another battle of almost or quite equal importance was being fought at Vicksburg, on the Mississippi (§ 335). Vicksburg and vicinity were held by a strong Confederate force under General Pemberton. Early in the spring (1863) General J. E. Johnston (§ 325, note 2) (then at Chattanooga, Tennessee) moved with an army to join Pember-



ton. In a number of masterly battles General Grant defeated Pemberton before Johnston could unite with him. He then forced him to retreat to Vicksburg, and at the same time drove Johnston off the field. For several weeks following, Grant and Sherman,³ with a total force of over 70,000, besieged Vicksburg.

¹ Union loss, 23,003; Confederate loss, 20,451.

² For this great victory and the one that followed it, at Vicksburg, President Lincoln called for a day of national thanksgiving and prayer.

³ General W. T. Sherman was born at Lancaster, Ohio, in 1820. He graduated at West Point in 1840, and entered the regular army. He commanded a Union brigade at Bull Run, and, under Grant, won the battle of Pittsburg Landing (see § 332). In May, 1862, he was made a major general. He died in 1891.

During that time the Union men were shelling the city night and day. Food had become so scarce that the Confederate troops had but one "cracker" and a small piece of raw pork a day, and the town was so knocked to pieces with shot and shell that the women and children were forced to live in caves dug in the earth. They, too, were reduced to a few mouthfuls of food a day; and



VICKSBURG, SHOWING THE UNION GUNBOATS AND THE FIRING FROM
THE CONFEDERATE BATTERIES

when "mule steaks" gave out, many had to choose between eating cats and rats or dying of starvation.

Out of less than 30,000 men the Confederates had 6000 in hospital, besides great numbers unfit for active duty. They could hold out no longer, and on July 4 (1863) Vicksburg surrendered. The Union troops "felt that their long and weary marches, hard fighting, and ceaseless watching by night and day" were over. Grant took nearly 32,000 prisoners. Famine had forced them to give up their stronghold; had they not given it up, Grant's army would have dug down or blown up this "Gibraltar of the Confederacy." Before noon of that day the Stars and Stripes were hoisted over the courthouse, and the Union men

were distributing bread to the hungry and making the place ring with

“ Yes, we'll rally round the flag, boys,
We'll rally once again,
Shouting the battle cry of Freedom.”

The victories of Gettysburg and Vicksburg made a great “ Fourth ” for the Union.

Port Hudson surrendered five days later (July 9, 1863), and thus another part of the Union plan of the war was accomplished (§ 328). One part had been to shut the ports of the South by the blockade; another was to open the Mississippi River. This had now been done, and the great river flowed in peace from its source to the sea.

345. Draft Riots; Morgan's Raid; Chickamauga; Siege of Chattanooga. The last call of President Lincoln for volunteers did not bring anything like the number of men needed, and in July (1863) the government began to draft the troops required. In New York City mobs of rioters resisted the draft, but they were finally put down by armed force, and the necessary men for the army were in the end obtained. In the South drafting had long been going on, and nearly every able-bodied man was forced to serve in the war.

During the same month General Morgan with a body of Confederate cavalry made a raid through Tennessee and Kentucky into Indiana and Ohio, burning mills, factories, and bridges, tearing up the railways, and destroying a large amount of property; but he was at last captured and his men scattered.

In the course of the summer General Rosecrans, by a series of brilliant movements, forced General Bragg (§ 339) to take refuge in Chattanooga, Tennessee. In September he compelled Bragg to give up that city to him. Shortly afterward he met the Confederate general in Georgia and fought the great battle of Chickamauga (September 19–20, 1863). Bragg had the most men and defeated Rosecrans. But General Thomas — the “ Rock of Chickamauga,” as his men called him — repulsed the enemy. He held his position as stubbornly as a rock, and not only saved a large part of the Union army from destruction, but inflicted terrible loss on the Confederates, who greatly outnumbered him. The Union

forces now retreated to Chattanooga (Map, p. 292), and were shut up there by Bragg, who besieged them for two months.

346. Battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge; Sherman's Raid; Grant General in Chief. The Confederates held Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, overlooking the beautiful Chattanooga valley. (See p. 311.) General Hooker had come from Virginia (§ 342), and under Grant he, with Sherman and Thomas, drove the enemy from the mountains in two battles (November 24-25, 1863), — one the famous "battle above the clouds,"¹ the other the magnificent charge of the Union troops up Missionary Ridge. The Confederates now retreated to Dalton, Georgia.

In February (1864) General Sherman made a raid, from Vicksburg, across the state of Mississippi. He effectually destroyed the railways centering at Meridian (Map, p. 306), by ripping up the rails and burning bridges, machine shops, and locomotives. So little was left of the place that one of the inhabitants said, "Sherman did n't simply smash things, but he just carried the town off with him." This rendered the Confederates in that quarter helpless to attack him at Chattanooga. Shortly after this (March 3, 1864), Grant was made general in chief of the Union armies. At last the right man has been found. He will advance on Richmond, and Sherman will soon begin his famous march from Chattanooga to Atlanta, and from Atlanta to the sea.

347. Summary of the Third Year of the War (April, 1863-April, 1864). At the East the Confederates had gained the battle of Chancellorsville, but lost "Stonewall" Jackson. Lee's second invasion of the North had ended in his defeat at Gettysburg; at the same time Grant and Sherman were taking Vicksburg. Port Hudson surrendered a few days later, and the Mississippi was open through its entire length. In the southwest the Union forces, after their defeat at Chickamauga, won the brilliant victories of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. Grant was now made general in chief of the Union forces; he went east to manage the war there, and left Sherman in charge of the West.

¹ That of Lookout Mountain. Union forces in the campaign 60,000, loss 5800; Confederate 40,000 (?), loss 6700.

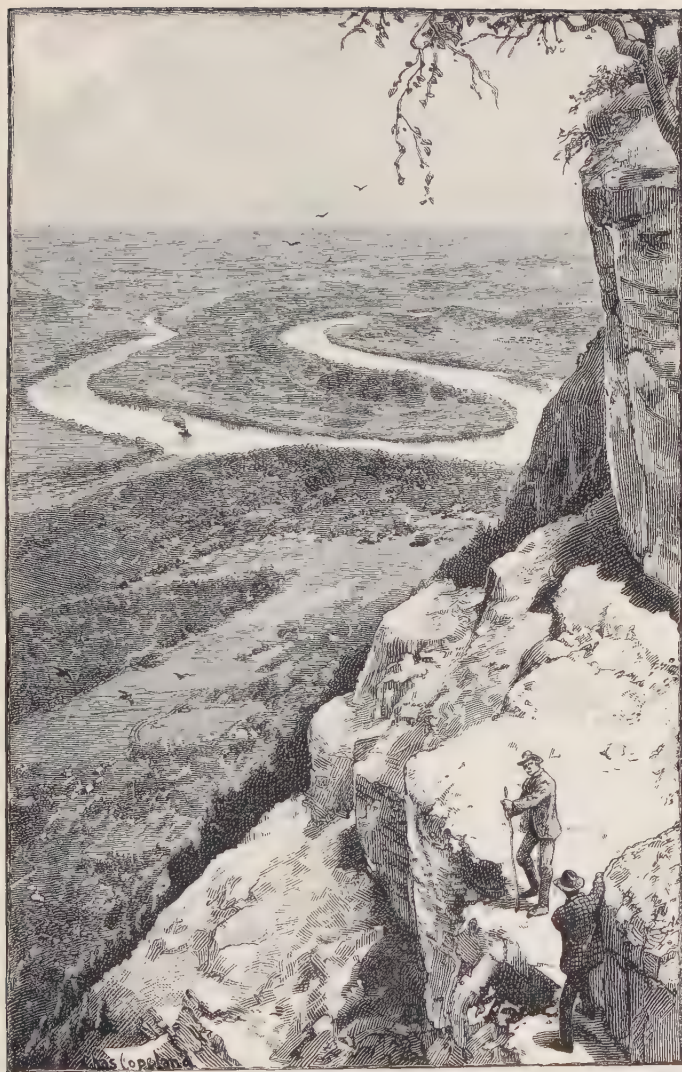
FOURTH AND LAST YEAR OF THE WAR (APRIL, 1864—
APRIL, 1865)**348. Grant and Sherman agree on a "Hammering Campaign."**

Early in the spring (1864) Grant and Sherman met and decided on a plan of action. The Confederates had been driven from the Mississippi; they now had two chief centers of power left. First, Lee, with an army of about 60,000, held the southern banks of the Rapidan and the Rappahannock (Map, p. 312), thus guarding Richmond and all the country south of it. Secondly, J. E. Johnston, with about 75,000, held Dalton, Georgia (a town a short distance below Chattanooga, Tennessee) (Map, p. 292), and all the country south and east of it.

Grant and Sherman agreed to divide their work: the first, with 120,000 men, was to move on Lee and compel him to surrender Richmond; the second, then at Chattanooga with an army of 100,000, was to march the same day on Johnston, beat him, and then push his way through to the sea. This was "the famous hammering campaign."¹ Grant and Sherman agreed "to hammer" together, "to hammer" with all their might, and never to leave off "hammering" until they had given the finishing blow, and permanently established peace, union, and freedom for the whole country.

349. The Battles of the Wilderness. South and east of the Rapidan is a desolate region known as "the Wilderness." (Map, p. 312.) Much of it is covered with a scraggy growth of oak, pine, and tangled underbrush. Grant's army began to advance into that region (May 4, 1864). Grant was headed for Richmond, and, sitting on a log in the Wilderness, he telegraphed to Sherman at Chattanooga (§ 348) to begin his march into Georgia. From that time until June, or about a month in all, Grant was "hammering" at Longstreet and other noted fighters of the Confederate army, first in the thick of the Wilderness itself, then at Spottsylvania Courthouse (May 8-18, 1864), then at Cold Harbor (June 3, 1864), on

¹ "Hammering" in the sense of giving the Confederates no rest; Grant did this, largely, by direct attack; Sherman, largely by indirect or flank attack.

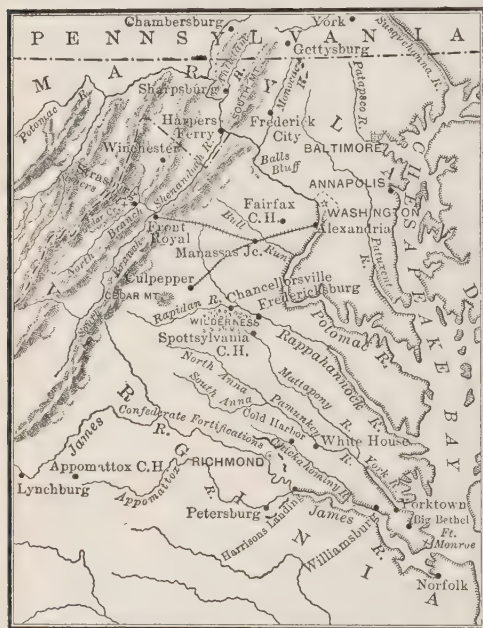


VIEW FROM LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN SHOWING THE TENNESSEE RIVER

The mountain rises to the south of the city of Chattanooga and commands a view extending into seven states. To the east rises Missionary Ridge.

the edge of the fortifications of Richmond, where, it is said, 10,000 of our "men in blue" fell in twenty minutes. (Map, below.)

It was a terrible series of battles, costing the Union army a loss of an immense number. Lee did not lose so many men because he knew the country perfectly, and was acting on the defensive. Grant had vowed that he would not turn back, but would fight it out on that line if it took all summer. He did not turn back, but he had to give up his direct line of advance and take another.



Lee had retreated, and intrenched himself inside the fortifications of Richmond; in order to draw him out to a battle in the open field, or to find a more favorable point of attack, Grant now moved round to Petersburg on the south of the Confederate capital. (See Map.)

350. Captain Winslow sinks the *Alabama*; Early's Raid. Petersburg was strongly fortified, and Grant had to lay siege to it with shot and shell, as he did to Vicksburg (§ 344).

While he was busy in this way, Captain Winslow of the United States war ship *Kearsarge* attacked the *Alabama* (§ 329), commanded by Captain Semmes. The fight took place off the northern coast of France (June 19, 1864). Captain Winslow gained the victory and sunk the vessel that had destroyed so many Northern merchant ships.

About the beginning of July (1864), Lee dispatched General Early with a strong force to make a dash on Washington. Early succeeded in getting within half a dozen miles of that fort-girdled



GENERAL GRANT

city, and then had to retreat up the Shenandoah valley. He carried off with him about 5000 horses and 2000 cattle to recruit the fast-failing fortunes of the men in "Dixie's land."¹ Later in the same month Early's cavalry made a raid into Pennsylvania and burned Chambersburg.

351. Sheridan's Raid in the Shenandoah Valley. Grant now (August 7, 1864) sent General Sheridan² with a strong force of Union cavalry to lay waste the Shenandoah valley. (Map, p. 312.)



GRANT SHELLING PETERSBURG

Notice the defenses formed of stakes and trees in front of the Union army.

This valley was one of the chief strongholds of the Confederates, and Grant was determined to destroy everything in it which could support their men. Sheridan went to work with a will, and in the course of a few weeks he burned so many barns and mills filled

¹ "For Dixie's land we take our stand,
And live or die for Dixie!"

This was one of the most famous of the Confederate war songs; it was originally a negro melody sung in praise of the South or "Dixie's land." It was a great favorite with President Lincoln.

² General Philip H. Sheridan was of Irish descent, and was born in Albany, New York, in 1831; died, 1888. He graduated at West Point in 1853. In 1864 he was appointed commander of all the cavalry of the Army of the Potomac, and after his famous "ride" to Winchester he was made a major general.

with grain, and drove off so many sheep and cattle, that it was said, "If a crow wants to fly down the valley, he must carry his provisions with him." Could "Stonewall" Jackson (§ 342) have revisited that beautiful country, — the pride of his heart, — he would have wept fierce tears over its heaps of desolate ashes, as the women and children of Chambersburg (§ 350) had wept and wrung their hands at the sight of their blazing homes.

352. The Petersburg Mine; Sheridan's Ride. Meanwhile (July 30, 1864), General Burnside (§ 339), acting under General Grant's order, had undermined the Confederate fortifications at Petersburg (§ 349) and placed 8000 pounds of powder in the mine. When it exploded it made a deep chasm or "crater" nearly 200 feet long. The Union soldiers rushed into the breach, hoping to enter the city; but the Confederate fire made it a gigantic grave for hundreds of brave fellows, while those who got out found themselves prisoners in the hands of Lee's army.

In September (1864) there was fighting in the Shenandoah valley between Sheridan and Early (§§ 350, 351), in which Sheridan gained the day. Later, Early took advantage of Sheridan's absence from his army to surprise the Union forces at Cedar Creek in the valley. They retreated, and the retreat soon became a panic. Sheridan was then at Winchester, about twenty miles away. He heard the cannon with their

"terrible grumble, and rumble, and roar,
Telling the battle was on once more."¹

Mounting his horse, he hurried to the scene of disaster. As he came up, the Union cavalry greeted him with a great cheer. "Face the other way!" shouted Sheridan to the retreating men. They did face the other way, and drove the Confederates "flying" out of that part of the valley.

353. The War in the West; Sherman's Advance to Atlanta. According to agreement (§ 348), Sherman began his advance from Chattanooga to Atlanta the same day (May 4, 1864) that Grant marched forward into the Wilderness. Atlanta was not only a

¹ See Read's poem of "Sheridan's Ride" in "Heroic Ballads" [Ginn and Company]; then read Sheridan's own modest account of the "ride" in his "Personal Memoirs," II, 66-92.

great railway center, but it was "the chief seat of the machine shops, foundries, and factories of the Confederacy." For these reasons Sherman was resolved to capture the city at any cost.

Sherman advanced slowly through a rough, mountainous country. He fought sharp battles at Resaca (May 14-15, 1864), at Dallas (May 25-28, 1864), and at Kenesaw Mountain (June 27, 1864) (Map, p. 320); but the Confederates could not check him in his march. Sherman says that for an entire month the Union army never ceased firing for even "a minute." But his soldiers would rather have fought more battles and had less rain. For

*I am going into Mobile
Bay in the morning if
"God is my leader" as I
hope he is;*

D. G. Farragut

FARRAGUT'S LETTER HOME, WRITTEN JUST BEFORE THE BATTLE

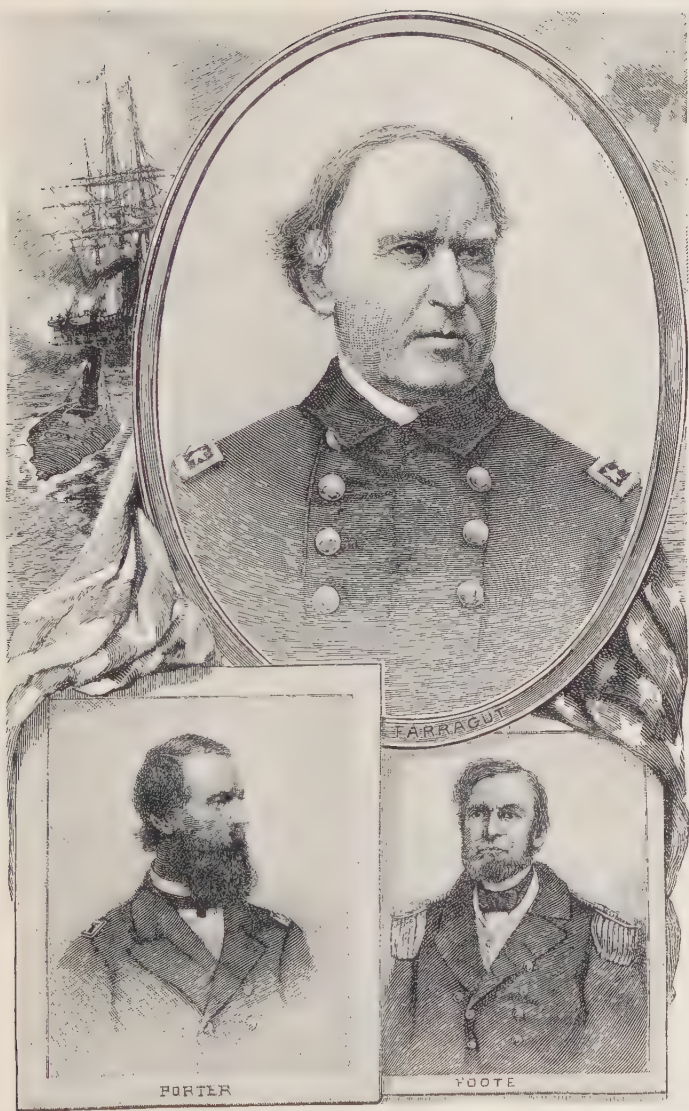
I am going into Mobile Bay in the morning if "God is my leader," as I hope he is.

D. G. FARRAGUT

three weeks it poured most of the time night and day; while he was marching, every man had a rivulet streaming down his back, and, as the army carried no tents, he was fortunate when night came if he did not have to sleep in a puddle.

As fast as the Confederates, under Johnston, fell back they tore up the railway track and burned the bridges; but Sherman's men rebuilt them so rapidly that "the whistle of the locomotives was always following close on the heels of Johnston's soldiers."

354. Sherman takes Atlanta; Farragut enters Mobile Bay. After a series of battles with Hood, to whom Jefferson Davis had now given the command in place of General J. E. Johnston



(§ 344), Sherman took Atlanta (September 2, 1864). He had advanced 100 miles from Chattanooga, and in that short distance each side had lost about 30,000 men; that meant that every mile had cost the two armies 600 killed and wounded. Sherman burned the foundries, mills, and machine shops of Atlanta, but spared all its dwelling houses and churches. This destruction crippled the Southern armies. From that time they fought like

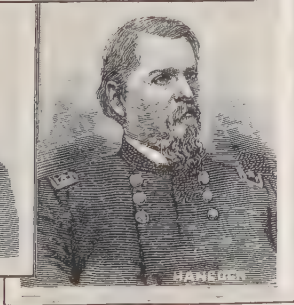
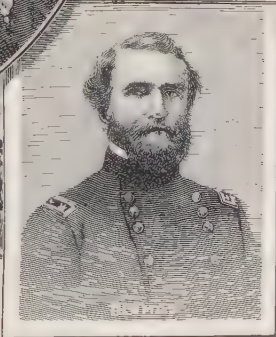


AN INCIDENT OF SHERMAN'S MARCH THROUGH GEORGIA

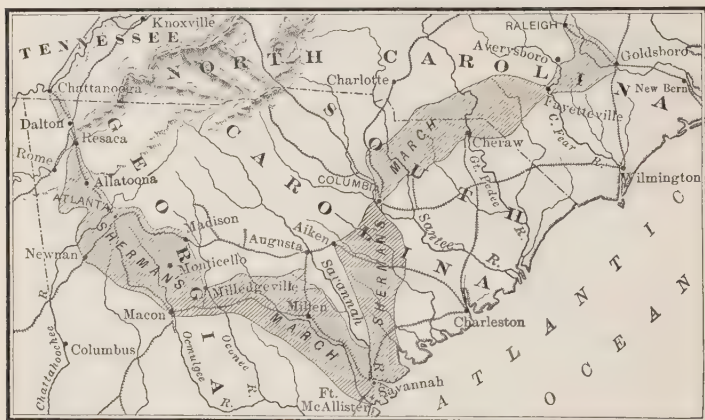
a man with one of his arms broken; they were as brave, as resolute as ever, but they lost ground every day.

Meanwhile, Admiral Farragut (§ 334) attacked Mobile (August 5, 1864). He stationed himself in the rigging of his vessel, where he could see every move in the battle; after a hard fight he forced his way with his fleet past the forts and took possession of the harbor. He completely closed the port of Mobile¹ against supplies sent to the Confederates from abroad. This naval victory was one more important step taken toward compelling the final surrender of the South.

¹ All the ports of the South had long been blockaded by Union war vessels, but in some cases "blockade runners" succeeded in evading these vessels, and thus a certain amount of secret commerce was carried on.



355. Sherman's March from Atlanta to the Sea. After the fall of Atlanta, Jefferson Davis ordered the Confederate army to abandon the state of Georgia, his intention being to strike General Thomas, who held Nashville. He hoped in this way to compel Sherman to turn back to help Thomas. But Sherman believed that "the Rock of Chickamauga" (§ 345) was quite able to take care of himself; he therefore resolved to push forward. About the middle of November (1864) Sherman cut the telegraph and railway lines which connected him with the North. Thus



SHERMAN'S MARCH

Chattanooga to Atlanta; Atlanta to Savannah; Savannah to Raleigh.

"detached from all friends, dependent on its own resources and supplies," his army set out on its great march to the sea. For four weeks Sherman and his men disappeared. The North knew nothing of his movements. But Grant had faith that his friend would not get lost, and that sometime the country would hear from him.

Meanwhile, Sherman was going forward with 60,000 veterans, plenty of provisions, and practically no force to resist him. He cut a clean swath sixty miles wide¹ from Atlanta to Savannah

¹ "So we made a thoroughfare for Freedom and her train,
Sixty miles in latitude, three hundred to the main."

"Marching through Georgia."

(Map, p. 320), destroying railways and stripping the plantations and towns bare of everything, — cows, pigs, chickens, hay, — whatever, in fact, man or horse could devour, vanished before the advancing army. Along this broad track of desolation several thousand negroes followed in the wake of "Massa Sherman," shouting and singing as they trudged on.

356. Thomas destroys Hood's Army. While Sherman was pressing forward, the Confederate General Hood — one of the best fighters in the South — moved from the vicinity of Atlanta into Tennessee to attack Thomas (§ 355). A battle was fought at Franklin (November 30, 1864), in which Hood was severely repulsed. Then Hood advanced and besieged Thomas in Nashville. Thomas was slow, but when he did strike, it was with sledge-hammer force.

He attacked Hood (December 15-16, 1864) and cut his army all to pieces. The miserable remnant, ragged, barefooted, wet to the skin by incessant winter rains, shivering and starving, escaped, as best they could, leaving their sick and wounded to die along the roadside. This ended the war in Tennessee. The Confederacy had now practically shrunk from eleven states to three, — Virginia, and North and South Carolina; the rest were either inactive, or they were under the control of the military power of the United States.

357. Sherman takes Savannah and moves Northward. In a little less than a month from the day when he left Atlanta, Sherman reached Savannah. He stormed and took Fort McAllister on the south of the city (December 13, 1864); he entered Savannah eight days later (December 21) and the next day he sent the following message to the President:

"SAVANNAH, GEORGIA, Dec. 22, 1864.

"To his Excellency, President Lincoln, Washington, D.C.:

"I beg to present you as a Christmas gift the City of Savannah, with one hundred and fifty heavy guns and plenty of ammunition; also about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton.

"W. T. SHERMAN, Major General."¹

¹ General Sherman sent this message by a vessel to Fort Monroe. It reached the President on Christmas eve.

SHERMAN'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF LEE'S SURRENDER

[*Special Field Orders, No. 54*]

Headquarters Military Division of the }
Mississippi, in the Field, Smithfield, }
North Carolina, April 12, 1865. }

The General commanding announces to the army that he has official notice from General Grant that General Lee surrendered to him his entire army, on the 9th inst., at Appomattox Court-house, Virginia.

Glory to God and our country, and all honor to our comrades in arms, toward whom we are marching!

A little more labor, a little more toil on our part, the great race is won, and our government stands regenerated, after four long years of war.

W. T. SHERMAN, Major General commanding.

(See Sherman's "Memoirs")

The above order was issued while the Union army was marching from Goldsboro, North Carolina, in pursuit of Johnston's army. Johnston did not make a stand, but surrendered near Durham Station, about twenty-five miles northwest of Raleigh, North Carolina, April 26, 1865.

When Sherman's men learned that Lee had surrendered they went wild with excitement. They shouted, they flung up their caps, they turned somersaults in their delight.

The whole land seemed full of rejoicing that the long, terrible struggle was practically over. Confederate as well as Union soldiers were glad to see peace at hand; and a Southern woman, who heard the hurrahs of Sherman's "boys in blue" as they marched past her house, looked upon her wondering children and said, while tears streamed down her cheeks, "Now father will come home." — See General Jacob D. Cox's "The March to the Sea."

7th Apr 1865—

Genl

I have rec^d your note
of this date. Though not enter-
taining the opinion you express
of the hopefulness of further resis-
-tance on the part of the Army
of N. Va. — I reciprocate your
desire to avoid useless effusion
of blood, & therefore before consider-
ing your proposition ask
the terms you will offer on
Condition of its Surrender—

Very respt^{ly} your obt^l serv^t

R Lee
Genl

H Genl U. S. Grant

Command^r Armies of the U. States

LEE'S LETTER TO GRANT RESPECTING THE SURRENDER OF THE
CONFEDERATE ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA

Long before they reached Savannah, Sherman's men had come to the conclusion that the seacoast was not their final destination, and they would call out to the General as he rode past, "Uncle Billy, I guess Grant is waiting for us at Richmond!"¹

They were right, for early in the new year (1865) Sherman set out with his army northward. It was a seven weeks' march through mud, rain, and swamps. He reached Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, about the middle of February, and ordered the destruction of all buildings which might be of use to the Confederates in prolonging the war. Unfortunately the town caught fire, and in spite of all the efforts of the Union army to extinguish the flames, the greater part of the place was burned to the ground. On his advance Sherman had to fight General J. E. Johnston with a strong Confederate force near Goldsboro, North Carolina (March 19, 1865). Meanwhile, Charleston and Wilmington had been captured by Union forces: the Confederacy had lost its last seaports.

About a week later (March 27, 1865) General Sherman, leaving his victorious army at Goldsboro (Map, p. 320), went to City Point,² on the James River, Virginia, to consult with Grant. A month later (April 26, 1865) Johnston surrendered to Sherman near Raleigh, North Carolina.

358. The End of the War; Assassination of President Lincoln.

Sheridan now made a raid south through the Shenandoah valley, in which he destroyed the railway and canal from Lynchburg, on the west of Richmond, nearly up to the Confederate capital. This had the effect of cutting off a large part of the provisions for Lee's army. Sheridan next (March 29, 1865) made a similar raid to the south of Richmond. Lee had now only 40,000 men to Grant's 100,000. While the Confederate general was trying to guard against Sheridan, Grant threw his whole force on Petersburg (§§ 349, 352) and captured it (April 2, 1865). Lee retreated from Richmond, and the next day (April 3, 1865) Grant's forces entered the capital of the Southern Confederacy and raised the Stars and Stripes over the city. Jefferson Davis escaped to North Carolina,

¹ See Sherman's "Memoirs," II, 179.

² City Point is 40 miles below Richmond.

but was captured in May and sent as a prisoner to Fort Monroe. He was released two years later.¹ Lee's forces were completely broken up; many of his men were so weak from want of food that they could not shoulder a musket. Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Courthouse, a little place about seventy-five miles west of Richmond (April 9, 1865). Nothing could be more nobly generous than the terms given by General Grant to the defeated Confederates. The only conditions he demanded were that the men should lay down their arms and return to their homes. Those who had horses were permitted to take them with them; for, as Grant remarked, they "would need them for the plowing."

Finally, General Grant issued an order to serve out 25,000 rations of food to Lee's half-starved men. That meant that the strife was over, and that peace and brotherhood were restored. Five days afterward (April 14, 1865) General Anderson hoisted over Fort Sumter the identical flag under whose starry folds he had fought against Beauregard (§ 320). It was exactly four years to a day since the Confederates had won their first victory in the Civil War.

Thus ended the great contest, which had cost in all probably over half a million of lives and thousands of millions of dollars.² But the triumphant joy of those who had fought to save the Union was quenched in tears; for on the evening following the celebration at Fort Sumter (April 14, 1865), the President was shot by an assassin.³ Many of those who had fought against him in the South wept at his death. He was the friend of every

¹ By the end of May all the Confederate forces had surrendered and disbanded. None of the leaders or men engaged in the War of Secession were brought to trial for having taken up arms against the national government; but Henry Wirz, the Swiss commandant at Andersonville, Georgia, was charged with cruel treatment of Union prisoners, and was tried and convicted by court-martial; he was hanged November 10, 1865.

² The total war debt of the North was nearly \$3,000,000,000; this, however, represented but a part of the expense. The greatest number of men engaged in the Union armies at any one time was probably about 1,000,000. Colonel Livermore thinks that the Confederate forces engaged during the war (1861-1865) did not exceed 600,000. See Colonel T. L. Livermore's "Numbers and Losses in the Civil War," p. 9.

³ President Lincoln was shot at the theater by John Wilkes Booth, an obscure actor, who was the leader of a conspiracy for the assassination of the President, Vice President, the cabinet, and General Grant. Booth was pursued and shot, four of the other conspirators were hanged, and four imprisoned.

American ; none of us or of our children, North or South, will ever know a more unselfish or a truer man than Abraham Lincoln.

359. The North and the South in the War. In the North there was sore anxiety for friends who might never return ; and sisters, wives, and mothers were mourning for those who had fallen on the battlefield or died in prison. In the South there was the same terrible loss of life, the same mourning for those who had left their homes never to return. The material privations and sufferings of the war fell mainly on the South. Except at Gettysburg all the fighting was done on Southern soil. No armies marched through the North. Two new states — West Virginia (1863) and Nevada (1864) — had been added to the Union. All business went on as usual, or with increased activity. Every seaport was open, and trade and commerce flourished. There were many quiet homes not directly touched by the hardships and horrors of the struggle, where the progress of the war was only known by newspaper reports.

Thanks to the financial ability and the unfailing energy of Secretary Chase, the government never lacked means to carry on the contest. Whatever money could do for the equipment and comfort of the Union forces was done without stint or murmur, even when the expenses exceeded \$3,500,000 a day.

In addition to all this care for the men by the government, the Sanitary and the Christian Commissions were unwearied in their great work of love and mercy among the wounded and the sick. Once in hospital no one was ever asked on which side he had fought ; but tender hands ministered to his needs, and soothed his sufferings, whether he wore the "blue" or the "gray."

With the people of the South all was different. Their ports were blockaded, their business ruined. The country had no money, no manufactures ; the negroes had been set free. In their extremity Southern ladies cut up their carpets to make blankets and clothes for the soldiers, and churches gave their bells to be cast into cannon. Long before the final surrender there was grievous want everywhere throughout the South, and everywhere the people were suffering from the destruction necessarily caused by invading

armies or from the dread of such invasion. It is a noble evidence of the fortitude of the American character that the Southern people, however mistaken in their purpose, "fought," as General Grant says, "so bravely, so gallantly, and so long."¹

360. Summary of the Fourth and Last Year of the War (April, 1864–April, 1865). This year was marked by Grant and Sherman's "hammering campaign," which ended in the destruction of the Confederate power in the west and in the east, and was followed by the surrender of Lee. President Lincoln was assassinated a few days later. The surrender of General J. E. Johnston,² soon after, ended the war, and established the Union on a solid foundation of freedom for all men.

¹ See General Grant's "Personal Memoirs," II, 426.

² In his last orders to his troops, General J. E. Johnston said: "I earnestly expect you to observe faithfully the terms of pacification agreed upon, and to discharge the obligations of good and peaceful citizens as well as you have performed the duties of thorough soldiers in the field." Like a brave officer, Johnston led the way in the execution of this order by his own example. He died March 21, 1891, shortly after he had acted as pallbearer at the funeral of his friend, General W. T. Sherman.

IX

"America is another word for Opportunity." — R. W. EMERSON'S *Essay on American Civilization*.

RECONSTRUCTION — THE NEW NATION¹

(1865 TO THE PRESENT TIME)

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN POWER

361. Difficulty of President Johnson's Task; the Grand Review; disbanding the Armies. The untimely death of President Lincoln (§ 358) made Andrew Johnson² the head of the nation.³ The position to which the new President was thus suddenly called, was peculiarly hard and trying; for if the great heart of Lincoln had to bear the sad burden of four years of civil war, his successor had to undertake the delicate and difficult work of reconstruction, — that is, of restoring the seceded states to their former places in the Union.

Now that the war was over, the first thing to be done was to disband the Union army, numbering more than a million soldiers.

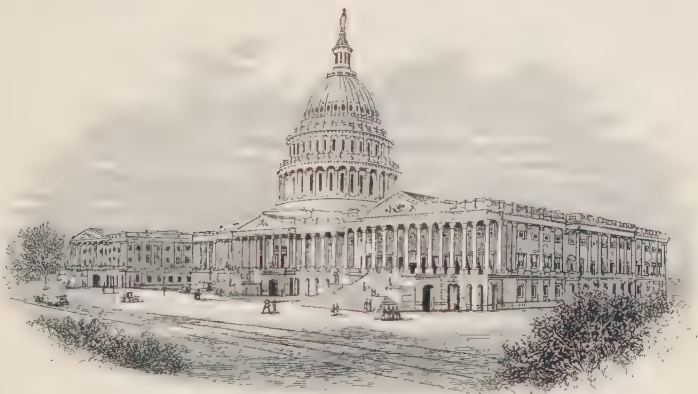
¹ **Reference Books.** W. Wilson's "Division and Reunion," ch. 11-13; W. C. Bryant and Gay's "United States" (revised edition), V, ch. 21-31; A. B. Hart's "American History by Contemporaries," IV, ch. 23-34; A. B. Hart's "Source Book," ch. 19-21; W. A. Dunning's "Reconstruction"; E. E. Sparks' "National Development"; D. R. Dewey's "National Problems"; J. H. Latané's "America the World Power"; A. B. Hart's "Ideals of American Government"; J. W. Garner's and Lodge's "United States," III, ch. 35, and IV, ch. 36-45; E. B. Andrews' "The United States in Our Time." See also the classified List of Books in the Appendix.

² Andrew Johnson was born at Raleigh, North Carolina, in 1808; died, 1875. He learned the tailor's trade and moved to Greenville, Tennessee. He never attended school, but was entirely self-educated. He was elected to Congress in 1843 by the Democrats, and to the United States Senate in 1857. When the Civil War broke out he took a decided stand against secession. In 1862 President Lincoln appointed him military governor of Tennessee. On Lincoln's second election to the presidency by the Republicans, Johnson was elected Vice President.

³ See the Constitution, Article II, Section 1, Paragraph 6

But multitudes wished to see the brave men who had fought to save the nation ; and late in May a grand review of Grant's and of Sherman's troops took place in Washington.

For the first time since the beginning of the war the triumphant armies of the east and of the west were united. During the greater part of two days (May 23, 24, 1865) the broad avenue from the Capitol to the White House resounded with martial music, and with the strong, steady tread of a column of men over thirty miles long. The march of these seemingly endless regiments of sunburnt veterans, bearing their glittering muskets and



THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON

their tattered, smoke-stained battle flags, festooned with flowers, was a magnificent sight. No such spectacle had ever been seen before in America ; as one enthusiastic officer declared, " It was worth ten years of a man's life for him to be able to say, ' I was there.' "

But grand as the display was, something grander was to come ; that was the fact that in the course of a few weeks all these men, with many hundreds of thousands more,¹ laid down their arms and went quietly to their homes. Neither on the Northern nor on the Southern side was there a single act of lawlessness to stain their proud record as soldiers and Americans.

¹ About 50,000 men were kept as a standing army, to preserve order ; all the other Union troops were disbanded. The number of Confederates disbanded was about 175,000.

362. What the War Settled. The war settled three things :

1. It "extinguished secession" as completely as water extinguishes a flame of fire. Henceforth it was understood that the Union could not be broken. On this point the Constitution received a final and unmistakable interpretation. In the words of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States (1868), the American Republic is "an indestructible Union composed of indestructible states." The war established the supremacy of the national government beyond all question; but more than this, it made every heart feel that we are one nation and have a common destiny. It fixed in the minds of the people the great thought expressed by Daniel Webster: "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable" (§ 268).

2. The war made the negro free — that was an advantage to every one, white or black, North or South; for free labor only is intelligent and profitable.

3. The manner in which the result was accepted on both sides was itself a benefit. General Grant showed a magnanimity that has had no parallel. General Lee had fought with all his might; he was in the wrong; he applied to the government for a pardon, as an example to his men. He said: "Remember that we are one country now. Do not bring up your children in hostility to the government of the United States. Bring them up to be Americans."

363. The President's Proclamation of Pardon; the Contest between Congress and the President. President Johnson issued a proclamation of pardon (May 29, 1865) to the greater part of the people of the seceded states on condition that they would swear to "faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution and the Union." A majority of the inhabitants of those states took the oath. They furthermore bound themselves to accept the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which prohibited slavery (§ 340), and they agreed never to demand payment of any part of the Southern war debt.

Now came the question whether these states should be at once permitted to send representatives to Congress. The President said, Yes; but a majority in Congress said, No. The reason for this

denial was that the greater part of Congress believed that it would not be safe to restore the southern states to their full political rights until more was done to protect the negroes, or "freedmen," as they were now called, in the enjoyment of their new liberty.

From this time forward the President and Congress were engaged in bitter strife with each other. Congress refused to re-admit the southern states, and passed several bills¹ in favor of the "freedmen," one of which made them citizens,² another gave them military protection, while a third granted them power to vote in the District of Columbia. The President believed that the South would deal fairly by the "freedmen," and he therefore vetoed these bills; Congress then passed them over his veto.³

364. Congress puts the Southern States under Military Government; the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. In the spring (1867) Congress passed another bill over the President's veto. This was the First Reconstruction Act.⁴ The new law divided the South into districts, each of which was to be governed by a military governor. The "freedmen" were given the right to vote, but that right was denied to all those white inhabitants who had taken a prominent part in the war against the Union. Each state was to continue under this form of government until the people of the states — black as well as white — should form a government accepting the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

That amendment, enacted by Congress in 1866,⁵ to supplement the Thirteenth Amendment (§ 340), declared the negro a citizen; it made it a great disadvantage to a state to deny him the right to vote or to hold office; finally it shut out the chief white men of the South, who had taken part in the war, from holding any high

¹ Namely the Civil Rights Bill, the Supplementary Freedmen's Bureau Bill, and the District of Columbia Franchise Bill. See W. Macdonald's "Select Statutes" (1861-1898), pp. 141, 147, 154.

² By making the "freedmen" citizens, Congress (by the Civil Rights Bill, March, 1866) gave them the right to protection under the laws of the United States, with power to use the courts to sue for the payment of debts and the like.

³ In case the President vetoes a bill (that is, refuses to sign it, and returns it to Congress), Congress may pass the bill without the President's signature, providing two thirds of the members vote for it. See the Constitution, Article I, Section 7, Paragraph 2.

⁴ See W. Macdonald's "Select Statutes" (1861-1898), p. 156. ⁵ Ratified in 1868.

office.¹ When these conditions should be accepted, but not before, the southern states might send representatives to Congress.

Tennessee, President Johnson's state, having fulfilled all the conditions required, had been readmitted (1866).

365. Six States readmitted; Negro Legislators and "Carpet-baggers."² Six states accepted these conditions;³ four refused but accepted them later (1870). In some of the restored states, especially in South Carolina, there were more negroes than white men. The negroes got control of these states. They had been slaves all their lives, and were so ignorant that they did not even know the letters of the alphabet. Yet they now sat in the state legislatures and made the laws. After the war many industrious Northern men settled in the South, but, besides these, certain greedy adventurers, nicknamed "Carpetbaggers," went there eager to get political office and political spoils. These "Carpetbaggers" used the ignorant "freedmen" as tools to carry out their own selfish purposes. Working with the negro legislators, they plundered the states that had the misfortune to be subject to their rule.⁴

After a time the white population throughout the South resolved that they would no longer endure this state of things. Partly by peaceable and partly by violent means they succeeded in getting the political power into their own hands, and the reign of the "Carpetbagger" and the negro came to an end.

366. Congress impeaches the President; Proclamation of Full and Unconditional Pardon; the Fifteenth Amendment. Meanwhile, the quarrel between Congress and the President (§ 363) was growing

¹ See the Constitution — Amendments, Article XIV. The Fourteenth Amendment further-more required the South to repudiate its war debt and to agree to the payment of the Union war debt.

² "Carpetbaggers": a nickname given by Southerners to Northern adventurers who went South after the war (with no baggage or property except a carpetbag) for the purpose of getting office and plunder. Those Southerners who joined the "Carpetbaggers" in their schemes were nicknamed "Scalawags."

³ The six states which accepted (and were readmitted June, 1868) were Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia remained out until 1870.

⁴ In 1868 the total debt of South Carolina was about \$5,000,000. Under four years of "Carpetbag" government, or rather misgovernment, the debt was increased to no less than \$30,000,000. Much of the debt represented simply what was stolen from the people of the state.

more and more serious. The President was not only determined to have his own way, but also to remove from office those who did not agree with him. Congress now passed the Tenure of Office Act (1867).¹ It forbade his dismissing even the members of his own cabinet or private council without the consent of the Senate.

The President denied the power of Congress to make such a law, and he removed Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, who had been appointed by President Lincoln. For this refusal to obey the Tenure of Office Act Congress proceeded (1868) to impeach² the President. On his trial thirty-five senators voted "guilty" and nineteen "not guilty"; as this was one less than the two-thirds' vote required to convict him, President Johnson was acquitted. A single vote more against him would have removed him from the presidency.

On the Christmas following (1868) the President issued a proclamation of full and unconditional pardon to all persons who had taken part in the war against the Union.

Early in the year following (1869) Congress passed the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. It was ratified by the states in 1870.³ The Thirteenth Amendment (passed 1865) made the negro free (§ 340), the Fourteenth Amendment (passed 1866) made him a citizen (§ 364), the Fifteenth finished the work and made him a *voter*. All these great changes had taken place within the short space of four years!

But since then (1890-1908) the greater part of the southern states have passed laws which practically take away the negro's power to vote in those states. For this reason the Fifteenth Amendment has at present no real force at the South (§ 409).

¹ See W. Macdonald's "Select Statutes" (1861-1898), p. 160. The principal features of the act were repealed in 1869, and the remainder of it in 1887.

² Impeach the President: to bring him to trial. The House of Representatives makes the charges and the Senate tries the case — the Chief Justice presiding. See the Constitution, Article I, Section 2, Paragraph 5; and Section 3, Paragraph 6. As only part of the southern states had been readmitted, the number of senators was then but 54.

³ See the Constitution — Amendments, Article XV. The Thirteenth Amendment was passed by Congress under Lincoln in 1865. It was ratified by the required number of three fourths of the states in December of that year, after Johnson had become President.

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were passed by Congress during Johnson's presidency, but the last was not ratified until 1870, after Grant had become President.

367. The Atlantic Telegraph Cable. These political events were not the only ones in which the country was interested. Professor Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, had predicted (§ 284) that the time would come when messages would be sent across the sea by electricity.

Cyrus W. Field of New York formed a company to accomplish this work by laying a wire cable on the bottom of the Atlantic, between Great Britain and the United States. The company lost several millions of dollars in attempting to do this, though they succeeded in laying a cable (1858) by which messages were sent for a few weeks. Not to be discouraged, Mr. Field formed a

new company, and raised more money for the work. This time (1866) he was entirely successful, and established a permanent telegraphic line beneath the sea, between the Old World and the New.



LANDING ONE END OF THE ATLANTIC CABLE

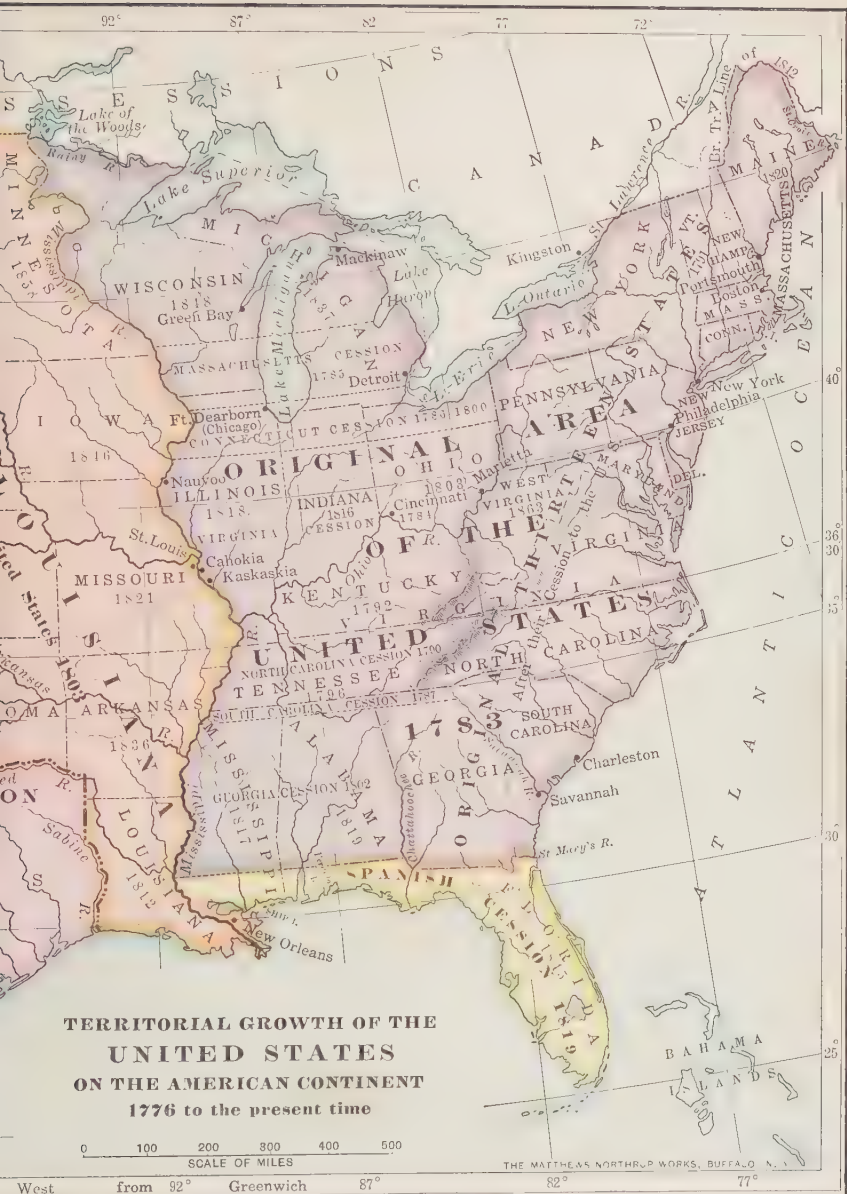
A number of additional electric cables have since been laid across the Atlantic. The result is that every important event which occurs in Europe

or in the United States is printed in the papers of both countries on the same day and often at the same hour.

We shall see (§ 428) that many years later (1902) an American company laid a telegraphic cable across the Pacific.

368. Our Sixth Step in Expansion, — Purchase of Alaska ; Payment of the National Debt. The next year (1867), just after Nebraska entered the Union, we purchased from Russia the territory of Alaska, embracing more than 590,000 square miles. We paid a little over \$7,000,000 for it, or less than what four days of war had sometimes cost us. This addition to our territory was the sixth step in our progress of national expansion (§ 294). It raised the total area of the United States then to about 3,600,000 square miles, thus making it nearly equal to that of all the countries of Europe united.





THE MATTHEWS NORTHROP WORKS, BUFFALO N. Y.

Secretary Seward persuaded Congress to make this purchase, in order to extend our power on the Pacific coast. Many Congressmen thought it was a waste of money, and one called Alaska "the refrigerator of the United States." But it has proved itself to be a very profitable "refrigerator." Its furs, forests, fish, and mineral deposits are of immense value; and many millions in gold have been taken from the Yukon and Klondike districts.

Besides buying this new territory the national government began to pay off the great Civil War debt, amounting to nearly \$3,000,000,000,¹—a sum so enormous that in the longest lifetime a person counting out the dollars one by one, at the rate of sixty a minute, could not get through even a third of it.

Before all the soldiers had been sent home we had paid off over \$30,000,000. Since then we have paid nearly \$1,200,000,000 more. Had we continued to reduce our debt at the same rate we should have wiped it out in about fourteen years. No country in Europe ever voluntarily settled such a debt. To-day our credit stands as high as that of any nation on the globe.

369. Summary. During President Johnson's administration six of the seceded states were readmitted to the Union; but Congress and the President did not agree, and Congress attempted by impeachment to remove the President from office.

Three amendments to the Constitution—namely, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth—were made during Mr. Johnson's presidency, though the last one was not ratified by the states until the incoming of the next administration. The first declared the negro free, the second made him a citizen, the third, a voter.

The other important events were: (1) the full pardon of all persons who had fought against the Union; (2) the beginning of the payment of the national debt; (3) the laying of the Atlantic cable; (4) the purchase of Alaska.

¹ The actual national war debt was \$2,750,000,000. This debt was greatly increased by our war with Spain (1898), so that at the close of 1907, notwithstanding all we had paid, it was nearly \$2,500,000,000.

ULYSSES S. GRANT (REPUBLICAN)¹

370. Grant's Administration (Eighteenth President, Two Terms, 1869-1877); Completion of the Pacific Railway; what Railways and Telegraphs have done for the Union. Before the great Civil War broke out the people of California resolved to have a direct overland mail to the East, instead of that by the slow and circuitous route through Arizona. Accordingly a pony express started (1860) to carry letters between Sacramento and St. Joseph, Missouri, by way of Salt Lake City. This was followed by a telegraph line (1861). Next, a daily line of stagecoaches for both passengers and letters was put on the same route (1861). When Indians attacked these coaches there was wild work. It was a race for life and a fight for life. But this means of communication was too slow, and a number of enterprising Eastern and Western men resolved to build a railway across the continent to the Pacific.

A little more than two months after General Grant became President, the last spike of the last rail of the new road was driven at Ogden, Utah (1869). The blows of the sledge hammer which drove that spike — completing the greatest work of the kind then in the world — were telegraphed, as they fell, throughout the Union.²

Congress granted a tract of land in alternate sections, twenty miles wide, extending from Omaha to San Francisco in aid of this national enterprise. During the previous thirty-five years the government gave to road, canal, and railway corporations public lands

¹ General Ulysses S. Grant of Illinois (Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, Vice President) was elected President by the Republicans in 1868, over Governor Horatio Seymour of New York and Francis P. Blair of Missouri, the Democratic candidates. He was reëlected in 1872 (Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, Vice President), over Horace Greeley of New York and B. Gratz Brown of Missouri, the candidates of the Liberal Republicans and the greater part of the Democrats united.

² The Union Pacific Railway, begun during the Civil War, was built westward from Omaha on the Missouri to Ogden, Utah, a distance of 1000 miles; there it met and connected with the Central Pacific Railway, which was pushed through at the same time from San Francisco, a distance of 878 miles. The total distance from New York to San Francisco is 3322 miles. The Northern and the Southern Pacific, the Great Northern, the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe, the Milwaukee and Puget Sound, and the Rock Island, Rio Grande, and Western Pacific Railways have since been built, making seven transcontinental lines in the United States, but some of these have been consolidated.

nearly equal in area to that of the thirteen original states as they now stand.

Between Omaha and San Francisco the railway crosses nine mountain ranges, including the Rockies and the Sierras, climbing, and then descending, over 8000 feet. In point of time, it is now no farther from New York to San Francisco than it was in the days of the Revolution from New York to Boston. Then it took our forefathers between five and six days to go by wagon somewhat less than 250 miles ; now, in that time we can cross the entire continent.



THE FIRST PACIFIC RAILWAY

The result of this rapid means of travel is of the greatest importance to the republic. Once members of Congress laughed at the idea that California and Oregon would be added to the United States. They said that it would be practically impossible for such states, if added, to send representatives to the national capital, because it would take them the greater part of the year to get to Washington and back. For that reason they believed that the people who settled the Pacific coast would form a separate and independent republic. The railway and the telegraph have changed all that. They have connected the farthest extremities of the country so closely that they have made it possible for us to extend and maintain the Union from ocean to ocean.

371. Effect of the Pacific Railway on Commerce with Asia, and on the Growth of the Far West; the Homestead Act. But this is not all. The building of the Pacific Railway entirely changed our relations with Asia. Teas, spices, and silks formerly reached us from China and from the East Indies by ships sailing round Cape



WHERE SOME OF OUR
WESTERN RAILWAYS
GO — ANIMAS CAN-
YON, COLORADO

Horn. Goods might be five or six months coming that immense distance. Now many of these goods come direct, by steamer, to San Francisco and Seattle, and are then sent, by rail, to the east. In a little over a month from the time a cargo of tea leaves China, it can be delivered in New York. The old navigators spent their lives in trying to find a direct, western route to Asia (§ 16); we have found it, though in a totally different way from what they expected.

Last of all, and most important as well as last, the Pacific Railway, and the lines since built, have opened not only the Central West, but the Far West, — as the region west of the Rocky Mountains is called. Steam has enabled a peaceful army of thrifty emigrants to reach that section easily, quickly, and cheaply. The unexplored region that a little more than a generation ago was given up to wild beasts and savages is now rapidly filling with population.

The liberal land laws of the United States greatly encouraged this movement.

From 1830 to 1862 actual settlers on the public lands had the first right to buy 160 acres at the very low price of \$1.25 per acre. This power of preëmption, as it was called, made the farmer independent in large measure of speculators and other would-be purchasers.

Next (1862) Congress passed the Homestead Act. That measure made a present of 160 acres to every settler on government



A WESTERN RANCH OR CATTLE FARM

land on condition that he built himself a home and proceeded to cultivate and improve the soil. The Western emigrant's song declaring that "Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm," then became a fact, though it cannot remain a fact much longer.¹ It induced scores of thousands to cross the Mississippi. Their labor has transformed the country where they settled. Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, and the newer states west and north of them, that were once treeless deserts or vast stretches of uncleared and uncultivated wilderness, are to-day covered with grain fields and fruit orchards.

Denver and many other prosperous cities and towns in neighboring states have sprung up in places where, when Grant became President, there were often, at the most, only a few rude cabins made of sods or logs, or a few "dugouts," excavated in the sides of the hills. Thus within the short period of about thirty years the railways of the West have entirely changed that part of the republic. They have converted what was once a broad extent of unoccupied territory — sometimes seemingly barren and worthless — into groups of rapidly growing commonwealths, rich in mines of precious metals, rich in farms, in ranches, and industries of every kind.

Some of these farms, in the Far West, exhibit stock raising and agriculture on a scale never seen before, for they embrace

¹ The area of farming land which the government now holds for disposition under the Homestead Act is diminishing rapidly, and in a very short time "Uncle Sam" will have no more to give away. On the other hand, the National Irrigation Act of 1902 has enabled the government to fertilize millions of acres of desert land by irrigation. The expense of the improvement is met by the sale of public lands, and settlers can obtain irrigated farms on condition that they pay for the water used. Recently more than 10,000 families have taken such farms in the Far West and are raising highly profitable crops on soil that a little while ago was simply "dust and ashes."

from 5000 to 40,000 acres each, and have 50,000 head of cattle or sheep. There are single wheat fields of 13,000 acres, and single farms which extend for many miles, — covered as far as the eye can see, with one mass of grain rolling in golden waves. These are the kind of farms on which thirty-three horse harvesters and steam harvesters are in use (§ 303).

372. Completion of Reconstruction; the Weather Bureau; Great Fires; the "Boss" Tweed "Ring." The reconstruction of the southern states was completed in 1870; and in January of the



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A THIRTY-THREE HORSE HARVESTER

following year (1871) all the states "were represented in Congress for the first time since December, 1860." The disastrous effects of negro voting in South Carolina and some other states where the "freedmen" were in the majority (§ 365) caused violent resistance on the part of the white inhabitants. A secret society known as the *Ku Klux Klan* was organized in various parts of the South to prevent the negroes from voting. Congress passed the "Force Bill" (1871) to give military protection to the black

man¹ (repealed, 1894). Experience has since proved that the negro can protect himself best by advancing in education and in habits of industry. It has already been mentioned (§ 366) that a number of southern states have practically abolished the African American's right to vote, but the fact remains that the negro, like the white man, still has the liberty to make himself what he chooses. That noted colored educator, Booker T. Washington, recently said that he would rather be an "American negro" than a white man.²

Another important work accomplished by Congress (1870) was the establishment of the Weather Bureau. This department has its headquarters at Washington, with branches in all the principal cities.

Its object is to give information of approaching storms and changes of weather. It has been the means of saving the country from heavy losses both by land and sea.

The next autumn (1871) a great fire broke out in Chicago, which destroyed about 18,000 buildings valued at \$200,000,000. During the same season terrible forest fires caused great destruction in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. The year following (1872) a conflagration consumed business property in Boston worth about \$80,000,000. These losses greatly aggravated the panic which followed soon afterward (1873) (§ 373). Our losses by fire now average more than \$500,000 a day for every day in the year.

In New York City it was discovered that "Boss" Tweed, one of the commissioners of public works, had been guilty, in connection with other city officers, of a series of stupendous frauds. In the course of years this "ring," as it was called, robbed the city of many millions, — so many, in fact, that it would have been cheaper to have had a great fire like that of Chicago or Boston than to have kept these men in power. Eventually the "ring" was broken up, and Tweed died in Ludlow Street Jail.

373. The New Coinage Act; the Business Panic of 1873; the Centennial Exhibition; the Electric Light; the Telephone. During the Civil War, and for many years afterward, paper money

¹ See W. Macdonald's "Select Statutes" (1861-1898), p. 249.

² See Booker T. Washington's "The American Negro of To-Day," in *Putnam's Monthly*, October, 1907, p. 70.

was the only kind generally in use throughout the country (§ 324). Silver dollars had practically disappeared largely because people found dollar bills more convenient to carry than the heavier money, and although smaller silver coins were common, they, of course, could only be used for making trifling purchases and for "change."

For these reasons Congress passed a new Coinage Act (1873) which dropped "the silver dollar of our fathers" (§ 202) and ordered the United States mints not to issue any money for use at home¹ but gold pieces, small silver, and coppers.

The Coinage Act attracted hardly any attention at the time, but a few years later a great outcry was raised against the measure and Congress was forced to restore the silver dollar (§ 379).

The year 1873 was also memorable as the date of the beginning of a great business panic which ruined a multitude of people. One reason for the outbreak of the trouble was that the success of the first Pacific Railway (§ 371) led to the building of more western railways than the country then needed.

Thousands of men believed that by speculation they could get rich at locomotive speed, but their plans ended (as in 1837 and 1857) (§§ 275, 312) in a terrible crash. Even the United States government felt so pinched for money that it stopped making payments on the war debt for a time, and all work on public buildings came to a standstill. The country did not fully recover from the "hard times" for five or six years.

A leading feature of the celebration of the anniversary of the One Hundredth Year of the Independence of the United States was the opening of the Centennial Exhibition in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia (1876). The principal buildings covered a total space of about seventy-five acres. All the nations of the world sent products of their industry or their art to be exhibited; but, as in the World's Fair of 1853 (§ 303), our own country again took the lead in the display of useful inventions. The Exhibition showed what a great change had taken place in the mode of doing most kinds of work. In Washington's day, and for many

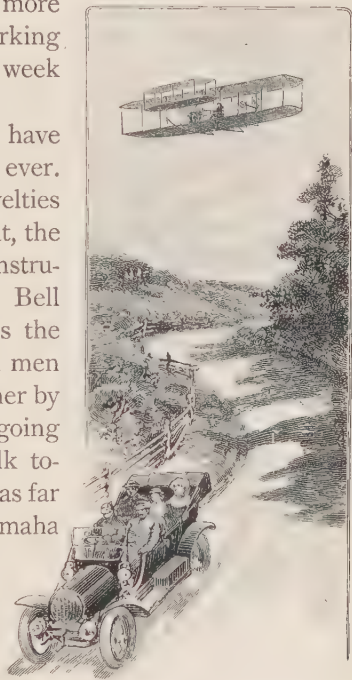
¹ The new Coinage Act provided, however, for the coinage of "trade dollars" to be employed in our commerce with China where silver was the only currency generally in use.

years later, nearly everything was done by hand ; but by the time we had reached our hundredth birthday an industrial revolution had taken place. Arms of iron and fingers of steel now performed the labor. The duty of the workman since that period has been mainly to guide and superintend a machine which is his willing, tireless servant. One such machine, for instance, an electric printing press (§ 303), can often do more in a single hour than a man, working with his hands alone, could do in a week — or in a number of weeks.

Since the Exhibition, machines have multiplied with greater rapidity than ever. Three of the most remarkable novelties then exhibited were the electric light, the first practical typewriter, and an instrument invented by Professor A. G. Bell of Boston, which we know to-day as the telephone. Professor Morse enabled men to send written messages to each other by electricity (§ 284) ; Professor Bell, going a step farther, enabled them to talk together in the same way, so that cities as far apart as New York or Boston and Omaha are now actually within speaking distance of each other.

More wonderful still, men several hundred miles apart have recently (1908) telephoned to each other without using any conducting wires. They simply speak through the air. It is believed that in time this new method will become a practical success like wireless telegraphy (§ 428).

Of late years the application of electricity to the service of man has made rapid progress in many ways. It rings fire-alarms, signals the approach of trains, shows us moving pictures, speaks and sings to us through the phonograph, drives various kinds of machinery,



A RACE BETWEEN AN AUTOMOBILE
AND AN AIRSHIP

propels cars over thousands of miles of street and country railways, is used on some automobiles, and, in certain cases, takes the place of the locomotive on steam railways. These things give us good reason for calling the twentieth century the "Electric Age."

Now, not satisfied with rushing over the astonished earth in automobiles, men are experimenting with flying machines in which they hope to navigate the air. If they succeed in doing that, we shall have to go a step farther and name our century the "Aërial, Electric Age."¹

374. The Treaty of Washington (1871); the Geneva Arbitration Tribunal; Indian Wars; Colorado. Meanwhile (1871), a very important treaty,² the Treaty of Washington, was made with Great Britain. Under that treaty an Arbitration Tribunal, which met at Geneva, Switzerland (1871), decreed that England should pay the United States \$15,500,000 for damages done by the *Alabama* and other Confederate war vessels built in Great Britain (§ 329). Once such a claim on our part would probably have led to war between the two countries. The fact that it was peaceably settled showed what a great change for the better had taken place in the relations between England and America.

It was unfortunate for us that we either could not or would not settle our disputes with the Western Indians in the same peaceable way. The Modocs of southern Oregon refused to be removed from their hunting grounds, and war ensued (1872). Later, the Sioux tribes, who had been driven from the Black Hills by gold seekers, made up their minds that they would not go to Indian Territory. General Custer, one of the bravest officers of the army, attacked them in their stronghold in Montana. The Indians numbered nearly ten to his one. In a desperate fight Custer and his entire command of several hundred men were killed on the spot (1876). But in time both the Modocs and the Sioux had to yield to superior force.

A little later in the same year (1876) Colorado entered the Union as the "Centennial State."

¹ Edison invented the electrical apparatus which shows moving pictures in action, and his electrical phonograph reproduces the sound of the human voice and of musical instruments.

² The Treaty of Washington referred all matters in dispute between the two countries to one or more boards of arbitrators. The Geneva Tribunal consisted of five arbitrators.

375. The Disputed Presidential Election (1876). In the Presidential election (1876) Mr. Hayes, the Republican candidate, received a majority of *one* of the electoral votes¹ over his opponent, Samuel J. Tilden, the Democratic candidate. The Democrats maintained that the election had not been fairly conducted and that Mr. Tilden had really received a majority of the votes for President. No such dispute had ever arisen before, and it filled the whole country with alarm. In order to settle this dangerous controversy Congress appointed an Electoral Commission to decide the matter. It was composed of ten members of Congress and five justices of the United States Supreme Court. The Commission finally decided in favor of Mr. Hayes by a vote of 8 to 7.

376. Summary. President Grant's administration was marked (1) by the completion of the first railway across the continent; (2) by the admission to Congress of representatives of all the seceded states; (3) by a very important treaty with England; (4) by terrible fires West and East, which destroyed property worth many millions of dollars; (5) by a new coinage act which dropped the silver dollar from our coins; (6) by a severe business panic; (7) by the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, and by the disputed presidential election of 1876.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES (REPUBLICAN)

377. Hayes' Administration (Nineteenth President, One Term, 1877-1881); Withdrawal of Troops from the South; the First Great Labor Strike. President Hayes² believed that there would never be permanent peace at the South until the people of that section were allowed to manage their own affairs without the interference of the national government. He therefore withdrew the

¹ See the Constitution, Article II, Section 1, Paragraphs 1-4.

² Rutherford B. Hayes was born in Ohio in 1822. He studied law, and settled in Cincinnati. During the Civil War he became a brigadier general in the Union army. After the war he was twice elected governor of Ohio. In 1876 he was elected President by the Republicans (William A. Wheeler of New York, Vice President) over Samuel J. Tilden of New York and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, the Democratic candidates. Mr. Hayes had but *one* more of the electoral votes than his opponent. On the dispute which followed see § 375.

United States troops from that part of the country, trusting that the whites and the blacks would come to an understanding between themselves. From that time forward the "solid South" — that is, the solid white vote of the South — got the control, and the negro ceased to govern (§ 365). The whole country was glad that the strife was over, and although many Republicans condemned the President's action, the majority of the people heartily approved it.

In the summer (1877), the first great historic labor strike in America occurred. The employees of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway refused to work on account of a threatened reduction of wages. The strike spread to several states and more than 100,000 railway men went out. At Pittsburg serious riots occurred. A mob set fire to railway freight houses, machine shops, and other buildings, thereby destroying property worth many millions. Order was not finally restored until the President sent troops to Pittsburg to prevent further destruction.¹

378. Deepening the Chief Mouth of the Mississippi. During President Hayes' administration the attention of Congress was particularly called to the condition of the Mississippi below New Orleans. That great river is constantly bringing down vast quantities of sand and mud, which gradually fill up the mouths of the stream.

These sand bars finally blocked the passage to such an extent that large and heavily loaded ships could pass over them only with the greatest difficulty. On one occasion more than fifty vessels were seen waiting for an opportunity to get to sea. Sometimes they were delayed there for days, or weeks, even, and had at last to hire tugboats, at great expense, to tow them through.

Finally (1875), Captain Eads of St. Louis, the builder of the great steel arch bridge across the Mississippi at that point, undertook to open the "South Pass," which is one of the five mouths of the great river. His plan, though not new, was most ingenious. He had noticed that where the river was narrow the current was strong, and so deposited but little mud to fill up the channel. He said to himself, By building new banks on each side, near the

¹ See Carroll D. Wright on Historic Strikes, in the *North American Review*, June, 1902; and E. B. Andrews' "The United States in Our Time."

mouth of the river, I can narrow the channel and increase the force of the current to such a degree that it will carry all the sand and mud out to sea. Then when the bar is dredged through it will never form again.

Congress gave him permission to try the experiment. He set to work, and in four years proved the truth of his idea (1879). Since then, the Mississippi, like a well-behaved river, has swept out its own channel, and large ocean steamers can pass up to New Orleans, or out to sea, without difficulty or expense. Captain Eads' great work has been of immense benefit, for the export commerce of New Orleans is the largest of any city in America except New York.¹

379. The Government restores the "Dollar of our Fathers"; "Greenbacks" become as Good as Gold. We have seen (§ 373) that Congress dropped the silver dollar from our coins (1873). Many people, especially Western and Southern farmers who were pressed for money, demanded that the government should restore "the dollar of our fathers." The Western silver-mine owners joined in the cry for "the free and unlimited coinage of silver." Congress would not grant that, but passed a bill restoring the silver dollar (1878).² President Hayes promptly vetoed it. He said that the market value, by weight, of a standard silver dollar was then only about ninety-two cents. On this account he held that it would be a dishonest act for the government to issue such a coin. But a majority in Congress believed that silver would rise in value and they passed the bill over his veto.³ The Treasury Department then began buying silver by the car load, and the mint began turning out silver dollars by the ton.

The paper money called "greenbacks,"⁴ which the government first issued during the Civil War, and with which it paid part

¹ For an interesting account of Captain Eads' work, see *Scribner's Magazine*, Vol. XIX, "The Mississippi Jetties" (illustrated). In 1908 the Southwest Pass was deepened.

² This was the Bland-Allison Silver Purchase and Coinage Act. It required the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase from \$2,000,000 to \$4,000,000 worth of silver every month and coin it into standard dollars. This act continued in force for twelve years, during which time nearly \$400,000,000 in silver dollars were coined and stored in the Treasury vaults at Washington.

³ See the Constitution, Article I, Section 7, Paragraph 2.

⁴ A name derived from the color of the backs of the bills (§ 324).

of its enormous expenses, was worth less than gold. At one time (summer of 1864) it took nearly three dollars in "greenbacks" to purchase as much as a single dollar in gold would buy. That meant that the people then had so little confidence in the power of the government to do as it agreed that its paper promise of payment stamped "one dollar" was worth only about thirty-five cents.

But after the war, when the government began to pay off its debt, the feeling changed. Then this paper money rose in value, until at last a "greenback" dollar would buy quite as much as a gold dollar.

Finally, on New Year's Day (1879), the Treasurer of the United States stood ready to give gold coin in exchange for "greenbacks." This strengthened the credit of the government and enabled it to borrow all the money it wanted (to meet the debt as it fell due) at very low rates of interest.

380. Summary. The four most important events of Mr. Hayes' presidency were (1) his withdrawal of troops from the South; (2) the great railway and coal strikes; (3) the deepening of the mouth of the Mississippi; (4) the purchase of large quantities of silver which was coined into dollars; (5) the redemption of "greenbacks" in gold and the reduction of the expenses of the government in paying interest on its debt.

JAMES A. GARFIELD AND CHESTER A. ARTHUR (REPUBLICAN)

381. Garfield's and Arthur's Administrations (Twentieth and Twenty-first Presidents, One Term, 1881-1885); Assassination of the President; Civil Service Reform. In the summer following his inauguration President Garfield¹ was shot by a disappointed office seeker named Guiteau.² He died in the autumn

¹ James A. Garfield was born in Ohio, 1831; died, 1881. His early life was passed in hardship and poverty. By dint of hard work he fitted himself for college, and graduated at Williams College, Massachusetts. He entered the Union army, and was promoted to the rank of major general. In 1863 he was elected to Congress, and later was chosen United States senator. In 1880 he was elected President (Chester A. Arthur of New York, Vice President) over General W. S. Hancock of Pennsylvania and William H. English of Indiana, the Democratic candidates.

² Guiteau was convicted of the murder and hanged.

from the effects of the wound, and Vice President Arthur became President.¹

The murder of Garfield led to an attempt on the part of Congress to relieve the President from the necessity of appointing thousands² of persons to government offices merely as a reward for their having worked, or spent money, to get him elected.

A law called the Civil Service Reform Act was passed in 1883. It gave the President power to appoint commissioners to examine persons applying for certain grades of government offices known as the civil service, that is, all outside of the military or naval service. These commissioners recommend those who show themselves best fitted to do the work. Out of the list they furnish, the President can then make his selection.

This method takes off the President's hands a vast amount of very laborious work. It also saves his time, and spares him the vexation of having to listen to that class — found even among office seekers — who cry night and day, like professional beggars, "Give!" "Give!"

Since then the operation of this act has been greatly extended. To-day about two thirds of the whole number of civil offices and positions under the government are subject to its rules.

Once the applicants for such places sought them as a personal favor, but now under the "merit system" all have an equal opportunity to attain government employment. Those who get places have the right to keep them so long as they show themselves faithful and capable.

382. The East River Suspension Bridge; Cheap Postage; the Alien Contract Labor Act. An illustration of our steadily growing prosperity and enterprise was given in the completion of the great East River Suspension Bridge³ connecting New York City with

¹ See the Constitution, Article II, Section 1, Paragraph 6.

² At present there are nearly 300,000 persons employed in the civil service of the government. This number includes all who are employed in the post-office service, but not those in the diplomatic and consular departments. The total number of clerks and others employed by the government in the District of Columbia is over 25,000.

³ The bridge was begun by John A. Roebling of Trenton, New Jersey, the inventor of wire suspension bridges. Mr. Roebling only lived to complete the plan of the great structure. He was succeeded by his son, W. A. Roebling, who finished the work.

Brooklyn (1883). This bridge was the first one of the kind begun by the leading city of America. Up to that time the only means of communication across the river was by lines of ferryboats. The cost of the work was \$15,000,000, — an amount double that of the entire annual expense of carrying on the government of the United States in the first years of Washington's presidency. It took fourteen years to finish the structure, which has a total length of over a mile. Since then three more great bridges have been built across the East River, connecting New York with Long Island (§ 408).



THE EAST RIVER SUSPENSION BRIDGE

In addition to these colossal structures, fourteen tunnels have recently been completed, at a cost of about \$70,000,000, under the East and North or Hudson rivers. They connect the city with Long Island and New Jersey. Through them fast electric trains loaded with passengers are constantly passing in both directions. New York is now practically about as accessible as though it was on the mainland instead of on the island of Manhattan.

Still another evidence of the prosperity of the country was the reduction of postage (1883) on letters, weighing not more than

half an ounce, from three cents to two. Two years afterward (1885), the weight of a letter which might be sent at this low rate was increased to a full ounce. For two cents we can now send a thick letter to any part of the United States or our island possessions, thus covering a distance, from New York to Manila, of over 11,000 miles.

The same year (1885) Congress passed the Alien Contract Labor Act. Its object was to protect American workmen against the importation of foreign workmen (§ 280). The act prohibited any company or other persons from bringing foreigners into the United States under contract to perform labor here. The only exceptions made by this law were in the case of those who were brought over to do housework or other domestic service, and skilled workmen who should be needed here to help establish some new trade or industry.

383. The New Orleans Cotton Centennial Exhibition; the "New South." Shortly after the close of the American Revolution (1784) eight bags of cotton were exported from Charleston, South Carolina, to England (§ 205). It was the first shipment of the kind ever made from the United States. In time this country came to supply nearly all the cotton used in Great Britain and Europe, and the value of the crop grew to be so great that it was a common saying at the South, "Cotton is king."

An exhibition was opened (1884) at New Orleans, — the largest cotton market in America, — to mark the hundredth anniversary of the first export of that product. The real importance of that Centennial Exhibition lay in the fact that it showed that the South had so entirely changed that it could rightfully be called a "New South."

384. The Progress made by New Orleans an Illustration of what the "New South" is doing. Take New Orleans itself as an illustration. Before the war it had but a single important line of railway entering the city; now it has six great lines.

Before the war it was almost wholly a commercial city, and its manufactures practically counted for nothing. To-day, thanks in large measure to Captain Eads' great work (§ 378), its commerce

has gained enormously. Its manufactures too are rapidly increasing; it now makes great quantities of goods which it formerly bought.

385. The South no longer a purely Agricultural Country; its Manufactures; its Prosperity; the "Freedmen"; Education. The change that has taken place in New Orleans shows us what has been going on throughout the South. When the war broke out it was almost purely an agricultural country; since then many thousand new manufacturing and mining enterprises have been started, including the production of cotton-seed oil,¹ and many



THE NEW SOUTH

thousands of miles of railway have been built. Such cities as the great cotton port of Galveston, with such manufacturing centers as Chattanooga, Augusta, Atlanta, and Birmingham, are "hives of industry." Their commerce, their cotton mills, iron mills, and other important works have become rivals of those in the North or West.

They possess the great advantage of having their supplies of raw material — their cotton, iron, lumber — at the very doors of their factories and mills, with unlimited quantities of coal for fuel, and, in some cases, immense water power² besides.

But this is not all. A new spirit shows itself in the South. Free labor is accomplishing double what slave labor did. In 1860 the South produced less than 5,000,000 bales of cotton; now it

¹ Before the war the seed was thrown away or burned as useless. Now many millions of dollars are invested in its production. The oil is used for salad oil, for making soap, and for many other purposes.

² Augusta, Spartanburg, and Columbus have great water power.

sometimes produces over 13,000,000; the white man does a part of the work; the negro does the rest. The "freedmen" share in this prosperity; when the war broke out they could not call even themselves their own; to-day they are taxed for several hundred million dollars' worth of property, which they have fairly made and just as fairly enjoy.

In education the progress has been equally great.¹ Common schools have multiplied all through the South, — they are free to black and white alike, though the schools are separate, — and the negro has not only many thousand teachers of his own race, but great numbers of white teachers besides. If he cannot get on now, the fault will be mainly his own.

386. Summary. The principal events of the Garfield and Arthur administrations were (1) the assassination of President Garfield, followed by Vice President Arthur's succession; (2) the Civil Service Reform Act; (3) the Alien Contract Labor Act, intended to protect American workmen against the importation of foreign workmen.

During Arthur's presidency the general prosperity of the country was shown by the completion of the East River Suspension Bridge (followed many years later by three other great bridges and by fourteen tunnels). His administration was also marked by the reduction in the rate of letter postage, and by the immense growth and prosperity of the "New South."

GROVER CLEVELAND (DEMOCRAT)

387. Cleveland's Administration (Twenty-second President, One Term, 1885–1889). The Republican party had held control of the government ever since the election of Abraham Lincoln; Grover

¹ In 1882 Paul Tulane, of Princeton, New Jersey, but for more than half a century a resident of New Orleans, left over \$1,000,000 to found a university for the education of white youth in that city. Vanderbilt University of Nashville, Tennessee, is another example of the same kind. In 1866 George Peabody of Danvers, Massachusetts (the London banker), gave a sum of money, which he later increased to \$3,500,000, for the promotion of education at the South. In 1882 John F. Slater of Norwich, Connecticut, gave \$1,000,000 for the education of the "freedmen" at the South. To-day the southern states are spending very large sums on common- and high-school education.

Cleveland¹ was the first Democratic President that had been inaugurated since Buchanan—more than a quarter of a century before (§ 310).

388. The "Knights of Labor"; the "Black List" and the "Boycott"; the "American Federation of Labor"; the Departments of Labor and of Agriculture. For a number of years a large part of the laboring men of the country had been members of a society or union known as the "Knights of Labor" (1869). The purpose of the society was to secure for its members the power of united action in all matters that concerned their interest.



GROVER CLEVELAND

In this, as in every country, there had been at times serious disputes between employers and workmen; one object of the "Knights of Labor" was to get such disputes settled in a way satisfactory to both parties. Where this could not be done, the labor union might order its members to quit work until they either got the terms they asked, or were compelled to accept those offered by the employers. In some instances, when the union men struck, they refused to allow men who were not "Knights of Labor" to take their places, and used force to prevent them.

The employers, on the other hand, formed combinations to protect their own interests. In some cases they kept a "black list" on which they recorded the names of those laboring men who were thought to be unreasonable in their demands for higher pay or shorter hours, or whose influence over the other men was believed to be injurious. Such men often found it impossible to get work.

¹ Grover Cleveland was born in Caldwell, New Jersey, in 1837; died, 1908. His father soon after moved to New York state, and Grover began the study of law in Buffalo, at the age of eighteen. In 1881 he was elected mayor of that city, and the year following he became governor of New York. In 1884 Mr. Cleveland was elected President (Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, Vice President) by the Democrats, over James G. Blaine of Maine and John A. Logan of Illinois, the Republican candidates. Many "Independent Republicans," or "Mugwumps," as they were called, voted for Mr. Cleveland.

The "Knights," however, were not without their weapon. They could refuse to have any dealings with an employer who used the "black list"; and furthermore, they could, and did, use their influence to prevent others from having any dealings with him. This was called "boycotting."¹ It is difficult to say whether the "black list" or the "boycott" came first; but in President Cleveland's administration both were extensively used, and both caused immense loss without apparently gaining any very decided advantage for either side.

More recently the "American Federation of Labor" was organized (1886). It is a combination of many different labor unions. Its object is to promote the welfare of the great body of workingmen in the United States. It is one of the largest and strongest organizations of the kind in the world.

The growing influence of organized labor induced Congress to create the National Labor Bureau (1884), now included in the new Department of Commerce and Labor² (1903). The Bureau collects and publishes important facts respecting the condition, rate of wages, and general progress of the laboring classes of the country. The Department is ably managed, and makes frequent reports which are of great value not only to those who sell or hire labor, but to the whole community besides.

A few years later (1889) Congress made the Department of Agriculture one of the leading offices of the government. This Department has charge of all matters which are of interest to the farming population. It has proved itself very helpful to that great army of workers who till the soil and who furnish the people of this country with their "daily bread."

389. The Year of Strikes; the Chicago Anarchists. The year (1886) in which the "American Federation of Labor" was organized (§ 388) may be called the year of labor strikes. They began very

¹ The word "boycott" came from Captain Boycott, the name of an English farmer and land agent in Ireland. In 1880 he became so much disliked that the people of the district where he lived refused to work for, buy from, sell to, or have any dealings whatever with him.

² The Department of Commerce and Labor was established to promote foreign and domestic commerce, mining, manufacturing and shipping industries, and the labor and transportation interests of the United States.

early in the spring, with the horse-car drivers and conductors in New York ; and they gradually extended, in one form or another, to points as far west as Nebraska and as far south as New Orleans (§ 377).

In many cases the strikers demanded that the working day be shortened to eight hours ; in other cases, they asked an increase of wages. In Chicago 40,000 men left their employments, and the greater part of the factories and workshops of the city were closed. Soon the men engaged in handling freight at the different railway freight houses in the city joined their fellow-workmen, and all movement or delivery of goods came to a stop. An excited meeting was held in Haymarket Square. The police, fearing a riot, ordered the crowd to disperse. At that moment some one threw a dynamite bomb at the police, which killed or wounded a large number of them. The officers then charged on the crowd with their revolvers and arrested the ringleaders of the mob. All but one were of foreign birth. They belonged to a small but dangerous class calling themselves anarchists.

The object of the anarchist is to overthrow all forms of government, either by peaceable means, or — as in the case of the men arrested at Chicago — by murder and the destruction of property. The workingmen of Chicago, and throughout the country, expressed their horror of such methods, and denounced the anarchists as enemies of the interests of labor and of society. Four of the rioters were tried, convicted of murder, and hanged.

390. Growth of Great Corporations and "Trusts." From the time of which we are speaking men engaged in every kind of work or enterprise have been more and more inclined to form associations. We have seen in a previous section (§ 388) how labor organized for self-protection and to obtain shorter hours or higher wages.

In the same way capitalists have united in forming companies for carrying on business on a scale never before attempted.

The object sought by these gigantic corporations and "trusts" ¹ is generally to obtain more effective results, with less competition, at smaller cost, and at larger profit to the stockholders.

¹ "Trusts": a "trust" is a combination of several independent or rival companies formed in order to work together for the interest of all concerned.

For instance, there were once many individual men or small companies engaged in producing coal oil. Now the Standard Oil Company (organized in 1881) controls most of the output of petroleum in the United States, and directly or indirectly influences the trade of the world in this important product.

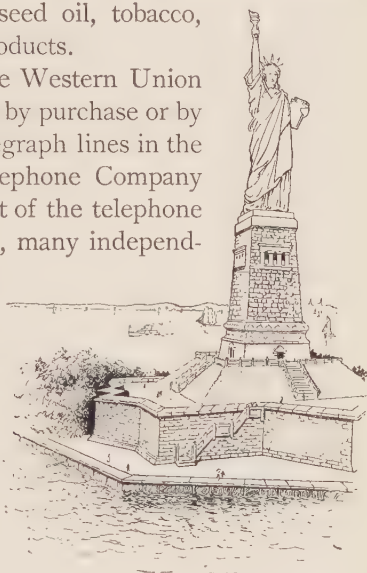
So, too, "trusts" have been formed, having in the aggregate many hundreds of millions of capital, for the manufacture and sale of iron, steel, sugar, cotton-seed oil, tobacco, india rubber, and other staple products.

In like manner (since 1881) the Western Union Telegraph Company has absorbed, by purchase or by lease, the great majority of the telegraph lines in the United States, while the Bell Telephone Company "practically conducts the chief part of the telephone business" of the country. Again, many independent or competing railway lines have consolidated into through systems often extending across the continent.

The same movement is seen operating in a different way in the establishment of the "department stores" of our large cities. Formerly the business they conduct was in the hands of a number of small dealers, but now a customer can buy, under one roof, almost anything he wants, from a paper of pins to a barrel of flour, or a set of parlor furniture.

These changes have revolutionized business in great degree and are of deep interest to every one. Within a few years the government has taken action for the purpose of supervising and regulating the methods by which the great railways and "trusts" carry on their work.

391. The Statue of Liberty. The year after President Cleveland entered office, the colossal statue of "Liberty enlightening the World" was unveiled and lighted in the harbor of New



THE STATUE OF LIBERTY

York (1886). The statue—the largest of the kind ever made—was presented to the United States by citizens of the Republic of France, as a memorial of their friendly feeling toward the people of this country, and as an expression of their confidence in the stability of the American government.

The statue is of bronze, and represents the goddess of Liberty holding a lighted torch, to show the way to those who are seeking the shores of the New World.

392. Three Important Laws (the Presidential Succession; Presidential Elections; Interstate Railways). During President Cleveland's administration three very important laws were passed by Congress.

The first law, the Presidential Succession Act (1886), provided, in case of the death, removal, or disability of both the President and the Vice President, that the Secretary of State (followed, if necessary, by the other six members who then constituted the Cabinet)¹ should succeed to the office of President.

The second law, the Electoral Count Act (1887), laid down certain rules for counting the electoral votes, in order to prevent all uncertainty and dispute in regard to the election of the President, such as had occurred in the case of President Hayes (§ 375).

The third law (1887), the Interstate Commerce Act, was enacted for the purpose of regulating the charges made by all railways which pass from one state to another, the object being to secure fair and uniform rates both for passengers and freight. Nearly twenty years later this law was supplemented and strengthened by the Railway Rate Act (1906) (§ 431).

393. Summary. The principal events of President Cleveland's administration were (1) the widely extended labor strikes; (2) the anarchist riot in Chicago; (3) the growth of labor unions and of great corporations; (4) the passage of three important laws relating to the succession and the election of the President and to interstate commerce.

¹ The Cabinet now consists of nine officers: (1) the Secretary of State; (2) the Secretary of the Treasury; (3) the Secretary of War; (4) the Attorney-General; (5) the Postmaster-General; (6) the Secretary of the Navy; (7) the Secretary of the Interior; (8) the Secretary of Agriculture (1889); (9) the Secretary of Commerce and Labor (1903).

BENJAMIN HARRISON (REPUBLICAN)¹

394. Harrison's Administration (Twenty-third President, 1889-1893); Opening of Oklahoma; how Cities spring up in the Far West. In the center of Indian Territory there was a large district called, in the Indian language, Oklahoma, or the "Beautiful Land." This tract was finally purchased from the Indians by the United States (1889).

On the 22d of April of that year some fifty thousand persons were waiting impatiently on the borders of Oklahoma for President Harrison's signal giving them permission to enter and take up lands in the coveted region. At precisely twelve o'clock, noon, of that day, the blast of a bugle announced that Oklahoma was open to settlement. Instantly an avalanche of "boomers" rushed wildly across the line, each one eager to get the first chance. Towns made of rough board shanties and of tents sprang up in all directions. The chief of these were Oklahoma City and Guthrie. At the end of four months the latter had a population of about 5000, with four daily papers and six banks; and arrangements were made to start a line of street cars and light the city with electricity.

395. Admission of Six New States; Our New Ships of War; Woman Suffrage. In November (1889) the President declared the four new states of Montana, Washington, North Dakota, and South Dakota admitted to the Union. The next summer (1890) Idaho and Wyoming were added, making a total at that date of forty-four.

The power of the American nation manifests itself not only on the continent but on the ocean. The old, worn-out wooden

¹ Benjamin Harrison was born at North Bend, Ohio, in 1833; died, 1901. He was a grandson of President W. H. Harrison (§ 282), and his great-grandfather, Benjamin Harrison, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Harrison studied law, and opened an office at Indianapolis. In 1862 he entered the Union army as a second lieutenant of Indiana volunteers. Later, he was commissioned colonel of the Seventieth Indiana Regiment. Near the close of the war he received the title of brigadier general of volunteers. In 1880 he was elected United States senator. In 1888 he was elected President by the Republicans (Levi P. Morton of New York, Vice President) over Grover Cleveland of New York and Allen G. Thurman of Ohio, the Democratic candidates. The chief political issue in the election was the question whether the United States should adopt the Democratic policy of a reduction of tariff, or that of protection advocated by the Republicans.

vessels which made up a large part of our navy have been gradually replaced (since 1884) by a fleet of magnificent steel war steamers, named generally after states and cities.¹ Our new navy first showed its effective fighting power (1898) in the war with Spain (§§ 415, 417). Nine years later a great fleet of these vessels started on their famous cruise round the world (§ 431).

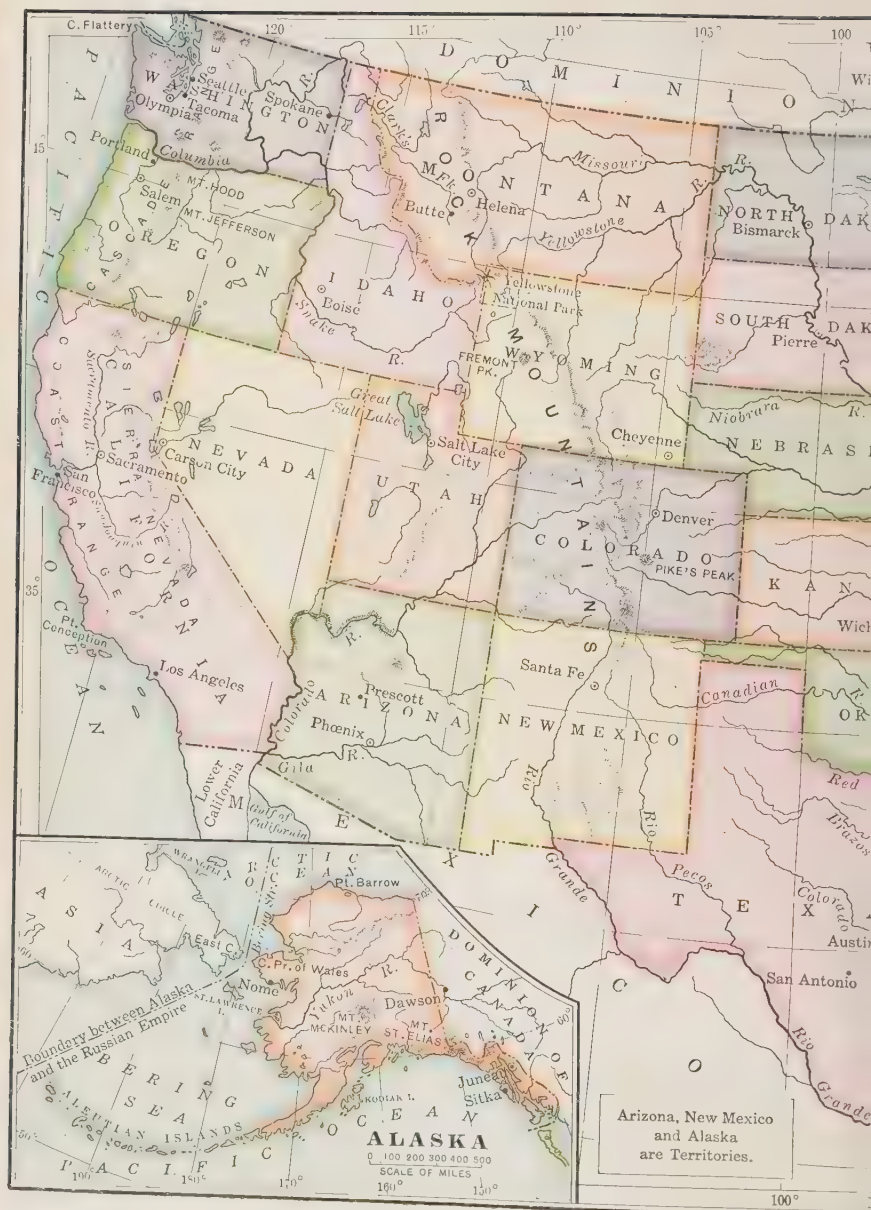
The state of Wyoming was the first admitted to the Union, since the adoption of the Constitution, in which women may vote² and hold office the same as men. Colorado (1893) followed the example of Wyoming, and (1894) elected three women to the legislature. Utah and Idaho, making four states in all, likewise granted (1896) equal suffrage to men and women. To-day American women have educational opportunities fully equal to those of men, and they can enter any field of work which they are likely to choose.

396. The New Pension Act; the Sherman Silver Purchase and Coinage Act; the McKinley Protective Tariff. Early in Harrison's administration Congress passed (1890) three very important laws relating directly or indirectly to getting, coining, or spending money. The first was the new Pension Act. This added nearly 480,000 names to the list of "invalid soldiers" or their widows, to whom the government pays a sum of money each year. The whole number of pensioners, including a considerable number added by our war with Spain, was (1909) nearly a million. They draw more than \$150,000,000 a year, or over \$400,000 a day.

Many people still thought that we were not buying silver enough (§ 379). For this reason Congress repealed the law of 1877, and passed the Sherman Silver Purchase and Coinage Act (1890). It directed the Secretary of the Treasury to buy 4,500,000 ounces of silver, or more than 150 tons, every month. Provision was

¹ The total number of vessels of war in the United States navy January 1, 1908 (including 27 first-class battleships, besides several vessels which are nearing completion), was 177. We have now the largest navy in the world next to Great Britain.

² Women voted in New Jersey from 1800 to 1807. Since 1869 they have voted at all elections in Wyoming. A law granting them similar power in Washington (then a territory) was declared unconstitutional by the territorial Supreme Court. Partial woman suffrage (especially the power to vote on questions relating to schools) now exists in nearly all the states.





made for coining a part of this into dollars.¹ These enormous purchases had the effect of raising the value of silver for a brief period. But the price of the "white metal" soon began to fall again. The government then found itself in a very unpleasant predicament, for the more silver it piled up in the Treasury vaults the more that silver shrank in value. A dollar that was worth 81 cents, by weight, in 1890, soon dropped to 61 cents.

In the autumn Congress enacted the McKinley Protective Tariff.² Its main object was to protect American products, such as wool, for example, and American manufactures against foreign competition.

397. The Census of 1890; the Patent Office Centennial; the Homestead Strike. The Centennial census of the United States (1890) reported the total population at over 62,000,000. Since the first national census was taken in 1790 we had gained more than 58,000,000 of people, and had taken possession of the entire breadth of the continent, from ocean to ocean.

The next spring (1891) the Patent Office at Washington celebrated its hundredth birthday. It issued its first patent (for making potash for the manufacture of soap) in 1790; by 1891 it had issued more than 450,000. These patents show that American inventive genius has entered every field which thought and skill can occupy. Our labor-saving machines are the most wonderful in the world. They are driven by hand, by horse power, by wind, water, steam, gas, and electricity, and they do so many kinds

¹ The Director of the Mint stated that between 1873 and 1889 the value of the silver dollar fell gradually from a fraction over 100 cents in 1873, to about 72 cents in 1889. In 1890 it rose to 81 cents; in 1891 it averaged 76 cents; in 1892, 67 cents; and in 1893, 61 cents. He attributed the fall in value first to the fact that a number of European countries, including Germany and Austria, had long since ceased coining silver except for use as "change"; but secondly and chiefly, because of the enormous increase in the amount mined. In 1873 the world's production of the "white metal" was \$81,800,000; by 1892 it had risen to \$196,605,000, an increase of 140 per cent. See "Report of the Director of the Mint" for 1893, pp. 21-26.

² The McKinley Tariff contained certain provisions (called Reciprocity or "Fair Trade" Measures) which permitted some foreign articles to be admitted free of duty, provided the country from which we imported them admitted American products free. When the McKinley Tariff was repealed in 1894 the Reciprocity Measures were repealed with it, but were later reenacted. Just before his assassination in 1901, President McKinley made a speech at Buffalo (§ 427) in which he strongly advocated the policy of reciprocity.

of work that it is getting to be difficult to think of any that they cannot do.¹

The following year (1892) a second great strike in our history occurred (§ 377). The workmen in the Carnegie Steel Works at Homestead, near Pittsburg, asked for higher wages and stopped work when this demand was refused. The company hired a force of detectives to protect their buildings, and fierce battles were fought between them and the strikers. Both sides used firearms, and on both sides a number were killed. Eventually the governor of Pennsylvania was obliged to send a military force to occupy the town and restore order.

398. Summary. Aside from the opening of Oklahoma and the admission of six new states (in two of which women may vote and hold office the same as men), the principal events of Harrison's administration were (1) the building of many new ships of war; (2) the passage of the new Pension Act, the Sherman Silver Purchase and Coinage Act, and the McKinley Protective Tariff; (3) the Census Report, the Patent Office Celebration, and the Homestead Strike.

¹ Among the inventions of the nineteenth century, not previously mentioned, attention may be called to the following: the machine gun, smokeless powder, fixed ammunition, breech-loading cannon; the Westinghouse air brake for cars, automatic electric signals, the interlocking safety switch, the automatic car coupler, vestibule trains, the Pullman and the Wagner palace cars; the compressed-air drill, the sand blast for cutting designs on glass; the electric search light, electric welding and heating; cold storage; noiseless firearms; color photography; the submarine signaling apparatus; aluminum ware; enameled kitchen ware; dyes made from coal tar; wood paper; wire nails, gimlet-pointed screws, plain and barbed-wire fence; the cash carrier for stores, the passenger elevator; ocean steamers built of steel with water-tight bulkheads and twin screws; the hydraulic dredge; the gas engine, the Corliss engine; the voting machine; the tin-can-making machine; water gas; Yale, combination, and time locks; the bicycle.

Among the most noteworthy scientific discoveries of the last century (not previously mentioned) are spectrum analysis, dynamite, the use of cocaine as a local anæsthetic in producing insensibility to pain, the X or Röntgen Ray used in surgery (and, to some extent, in the arts) for seeing and photographing objects otherwise invisible to the eye, the use of antiseptics in surgical operations, and finally the discovery and treatment of disease germs, the production of liquid air, and the discovery of the properties of radium.

GROVER CLEVELAND¹ (DEMOCRAT)

399. Cleveland's (Second) Administration (Twenty-fourth President, 1893-1897); the Introduction of the Australian or Secret Ballot. Soon after Harrison became President (1889) a new kind of ballot or voting paper was used by the people of Massachusetts for the first time in the United States. It was called the Australian ballot, because it was introduced here from that country. One great fault in the old system of election was that the bystanders could see how each one voted. This often prevented a man from voting independently, and so did great harm.

The Australian method is this :

1. An officer hands the voter a printed ballot having on it the names of all the candidates of the different political parties.

2. The voter, passing behind a railing, enters a narrow booth, or stall, where no one can overlook him, and makes a cross opposite the names of such candidates as he chooses.

3. Finally, he folds his ballot so that no one can see what names he has marked, and, in the presence of an officer, deposits it in the ballot box. When Mr. Cleveland was elected to his second term of office (1892) many states had adopted the Australian ballot or one resembling it. No less than forty-three states now use it.

400. The World's Columbian Exposition; Panic and "Hard Times" (1893); Repeal of an Important Act; the Bering Sea Case. In October (1892) the public schools throughout the Union celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus. At the same time the magnificent buildings

¹ Grover Cleveland (§ 387, note 1) was elected a second time by the Democrats (Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, Vice President) over Benjamin Harrison (§ 394, note 1), the Republican candidate for reelection. The political question was practically the same as in the previous presidential election (§ 394, note 1). At this election a new party, calling itself the "People's Party," or "Populists," voted for James B. Weaver of Iowa for President. Out of a total of 444 "electoral votes" cast for all presidential candidates, he received 22, but none east of Kansas, which gave him 10. The "Populists" in their platform declared themselves in favor of the union of the labor forces of the United States to secure (1) the ownership of all railway, telegraph, and telephone lines by the national government; (2) free coinage of silver in its present ratio of 16 ounces of silver to one of gold; (3) the establishment of postal savings banks; (4) the prohibition of all alien ownership of land.

of the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago were dedicated. The next spring (1893) President Cleveland opened the great Fair to the public. It proved to be a brilliant success in every respect.

But the summer brought "hard times" to multitudes. There had been a business panic (§§ 275, 312, 373) in the spring, which was followed by many disastrous failures. Property of all kinds fell in value, and immense numbers of people who depended on the work of their hands for their daily bread were thrown out of employment. Great strikes in the coal mines and on one of the leading coal railways increased the distress.

Before the presidential election the Republicans and the Democrats had both declared themselves on the side of "honest money," and had resolved that they would make every dollar, whether silver or paper, as good as gold.

President Cleveland believed that the Sherman Silver Purchase and Coinage Act (1890) was doing harm to the country (§ 396). He called a special meeting of Congress (1893), which repealed the purchase clause in the act. This stopped the buying of silver and checked the making of silver dollars.

Meanwhile (1893), a serious dispute in regard to Bering Sea was settled. We claimed that when we bought Alaska (§ 368) we bought the right to control Bering Sea and could close it against English and other foreign seal hunters. The foreign seal hunters denied our right to shut the sea. Finally, the question was left to a commission¹ to decide. They reported that Bering Sea must remain open, but that the seals should be properly protected, and not killed by everybody at all times. This protection was what we most wished to secure. We got it, as we did the damages for the destruction done by the *Alabama* (§ 374), by peaceful means. That bloodless victory was an advantage to us and to the world. The more such bloodless victories any nation can win, the better.

401. The Coxey "Industrial Army"; the Pullman Strike; more "Hard Times." The next spring (1894) a man named Coxey started from Ohio to lead an "army" of the unemployed

¹ Bering Sea Commission: this commission consisted of seven eminent men chosen by the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Norway and Sweden.

to Washington to demand relief from the government. Some of those who joined him were honest men seeking work, but many were simply "tramps" and criminals. Coxey, with a part of his "army," reached the national capital, but accomplished nothing, and his disgusted followers soon disbanded and disappeared.

Shortly after this a third historic strike occurred (§ 397). Several thousand workmen employed in building Pullman cars at Pullman, near Chicago, struck for higher wages. Next, the men on a number of western railways struck in order to stop the use of these cars until the Pullman Company should raise the rate of wages. For a time trains ceased running between Chicago and San Francisco and other points. Much railway property was destroyed, and the President felt compelled to send United States troops to Chicago and to certain points in California to protect the carrying of the mails and to maintain order. Meanwhile (1894), a new money panic (§§ 275, 312, 373, 400) did enormous damage to all kinds of business and for a time made it harder than ever for men to get work.

402. The Wilson Tariff. After a long and bitter contest Congress enacted (1894) a modified form of what was originally called the Wilson Tariff (§§ 200, 234, 266, 267, 269, 324). It reduced protective duties about one fourth, and admitted wool, salt, and lumber free. It furthermore condemned "trusts" (§ 390) and all combinations in restraint of lawful trade which affected imports in any way.

403. The Admission of Utah; the "New West." Two years later (1896) Utah—the forty-fifth state—was admitted to the Union. The admission of Utah naturally called attention to the marvelous growth of the "New West" in population, wealth, and industrial enterprise. Thousands of miles of railways had been constructed in that section within ten years, cities and towns had multiplied, mines of precious metals had been opened, and cattle ranches, sheep ranches, and grain farms were yielding food products on a gigantic scale.

404. The Venezuela Question. In his third annual message (1895) President Cleveland expressed the hope that the long-standing dispute between England and Venezuela respecting the boundary

line of British Guiana might be settled by a joint committee of arbitration (§§ 374, 400). England, however, failed to act, and the President, with the consent of Congress, appointed a commission to determine "the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana." Soon after, England and the United States settled the dispute in a friendly way (1896).

405. Summary. The chief events of Cleveland's second administration were (1) the introduction at presidential elections of the Australian or secret ballot; (2) the opening of the World's Columbian Exposition; (3) the financial panics of 1893-1894, the repeal of the Sherman Silver Act; (4) the settlement of the Bering Sea controversy and of the Venezuela boundary dispute; (5) the Coxey "Industrial Army" movement; (6) the Pullman strike; (7) the passage of the Wilson Tariff; (8) the admission of Utah.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY¹ AND THEODORE ROOSEVELT (REPUBLICAN)

406. McKinley's and Roosevelt's Administrations (Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Presidents, Two Terms, 1897-1905); the Dingley Tariff. When the new President entered office the government was in great need of money to meet its expenses; Congress passed the Dingley high Protective Tariff² (§§ 200, 234, 266, 267, 269, 324, 402) "to provide revenue for the support of the government, and to encourage the industries of the United States."

¹ William McKinley was born in 1843 in Niles, Ohio; died, 1901. He enlisted in the Civil War, and was promoted for gallant service to the rank of major. After the war he began the practice of law in Canton, Ohio. In 1876 the Republicans elected him to Congress. In 1890 he introduced the McKinley tariff. In 1896 the Republican vote, supplemented by the votes of many "Gold Democrats," elected him President of the United States (Garrett A. Hobart of New Jersey, Vice President) over William J. Bryan, the Democratic and Populist candidate. The great question at the election was whether the United States should adopt the free and unlimited coinage of silver advocated by the regular Democratic party and by the Populists, but opposed by the Republicans and the "Gold Democrats." Mr. McKinley was reelected President by the Republicans in 1900 (Theodore Roosevelt of New York, Vice President) over William J. Bryan. The Democrats demanded "Free Silver" and the ultimate independence of the Philippines; the Republican platform upheld the gold standard, and pledged self-government, as far as practicable, to the Philippines.

² The tariff got its name from Nelson Dingley, who originated the measure.

The Dingley Tariff made many changes :

1. It levied duties on wool and certain other raw materials, which the Wilson Tariff (§ 402) had admitted free.

2. It generally imposed higher rates on silks, woolens, and other woven fabrics.

3. It kept in force the sections of the Wilson Tariff which forbade all persons forming combinations to restrain trade in any articles imported into the United States, or to raise their market price.

407. Enormous Increase in Our Exports; Architectural Progress.

One of the marked features of the period, which still continues, was the great gain in our exports.

Every year we ship to Europe and to other countries breadstuffs, provisions, and cattle valued at hundreds of millions of dollars.¹

Great Britain depends on us for the greater part of her food supply. American beef has crowded "the roast beef of Old England" off the table; and when the traveler calls for bread, the

waiter is pretty sure to bring him a loaf made of Minnesota flour.

We also export immense quantities of cotton, petroleum, leather, and tobacco.

Within the memory of men now living we did not send any manufactured iron or steel abroad; on the contrary, we once imported most of our tools and even the locomotives and the rails for our railways. To-day we can underbid the world in the manufacture of iron, steel, and copper. We are sending American locomotives and American rails to Russia, China, Japan, and, in some cases, to Great Britain; and we have constructed steel bridges in Egypt, and electric street-car lines through Cairo to



WILLIAM MCKINLEY

¹ In 1908 they exceeded \$400,000,000 in value.

the Pyramids. In ten years (1898-1908) our exports of all kinds have increased enormously.¹ We are now sending abroad our manufactured copper, our tools, hardware, and machinery in constantly greater quantities. American sewing machines, watches, typewriters, bicycles, and revolvers can be found in every large city in Europe, unless they are shut out by tariff.²

The architectural progress of our country was marked (in 1897) by two noteworthy events. In the spring General Grant's tomb was dedicated. It is a superb white granite edifice standing on the banks of the Hudson in Riverside Park, New York. Over the entrance are cut the significant words of the great commander: "Let us have peace."

Other recent buildings, in New York, of commanding excellence are the Museum of Art, the Museum of Natural History, the Public Library, the Library of Columbia University, the new Customhouse, the College of the City of New York, and the Soldiers' and Sailors' Arch.

In the autumn the magnificent Congressional Library Building in Washington was opened. It is an imposing granite structure facing the Capitol; it has room for nearly six million volumes, and is considered to be the finest building of the kind in the world.



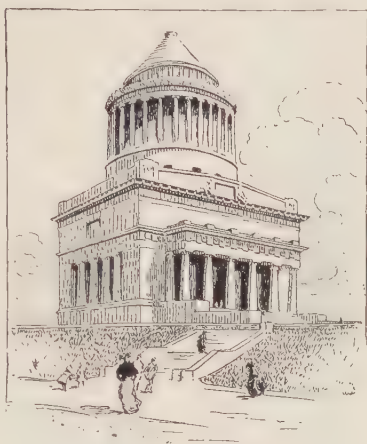
STEEL MANUFACTURE

408. "Greater New York"; Growth and Government of American cities. On New Year's Day (1898) the charter of "Greater New York" went into operation. The metropolis now includes Brooklyn and a number of suburban towns. It covers an area of nearly 327 square miles, — or a territory more than one fourth that of the state of Rhode Island, — and its population is estimated at about 4,500,000. This makes New York the largest city in the world except London.

¹ Our domestic exports for 1898 amounted to over \$1,210,000,000, in 1908 they amounted to nearly \$1,854,000,000. ² The value of our manufactured exports in 1908 was \$750,000,000.

The lack of space in lower New York has seemed to compel the erection of enormously high steel-framed business buildings. Wall Street, Broad Street, and parts of lower Broadway now resemble canyons in the Rocky Mountains. Recently two large office buildings have been constructed, which rise to a height of between 500 and 600 feet, and contain more than forty stories. The great bridges and tunnels of the city have already been mentioned (§ 382). The city is now engaged in constructing an immense aqueduct, which, when completed, will bring an abundant supply of pure water from the Catskills.

The rapid growth of our cities is one of the most remarkable features in our history. When our first national census was taken (1790) (§ 202) we had only six cities



GRANT'S TOMB, RIVERSIDE PARK,
NEW YORK CITY



CONGRESSIONAL LIBRARY BUILDING, WASHINGTON



WALL STREET

The money center of America.

which had 8000 or more inhabitants. Philadelphia came first with 42,000 and New York next with 33,000. By the census of 1900 the total number of cities in the United States having 8000 or more inhabitants was 546. In 1790 only about three persons in a hundred lived in cities, while in 1890 nearly thirty in a hundred lived in them; by the census of 1900 this proportion had increased to thirty-three in a hundred, so that now the cities embrace pretty nearly an entire third of our whole population.

This great change makes the good government of the United States depend very largely on the good government of our cities. If they are intelligently, honestly, and efficiently managed, all will probably go well; but if they are badly managed, all is likely to go wrong. The decision of this momentous question rests with those who are now voters, but it will soon rest with those who are to-day pupils in the public schools. In a few years you who are studying the history of your country will be called upon to take a hand in making its history. Your votes will then turn the scale, and America will be whatever you choose it shall be.

409. Revised State Constitutions in the South and West; the Negro Vote shut out. Since 1890 seven southern states — namely, Mississippi, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Virginia, and Georgia — have adopted new or amended constitutions. These states require every voter to be able to read a section of the state constitution, or to pay a certain amount of taxes, or both.

This change in the conditions of suffrage practically excludes, and is intended to exclude, the great majority of the negroes from voting, and it gives the white race the entire control. In this way the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution (§ 366) has practically been set aside and no longer has any real effect.¹

In the Far West, South Dakota amended its constitution (1898) for the purpose of giving the people of the state a more direct voice in making its laws. The amendment provided that whenever five per cent of the voters — or fifty in a thousand — should ask for the enactment of a law, the question should be decided at a special election. If, on the other hand, the same number should object to any law which the legislature had enacted, the question of retaining it must be decided in the same way.² This method has been in operation in the republic of Switzerland for many years, but South Dakota was the first state here to make trial of it. Later (1902), Oregon adopted the provision which gives the people the right of deciding whether a law shall stand or not, and recently (1907) the state of Oklahoma adopted it.

410. Spanish Possessions in the Sixteenth Century. It will be remembered that at the close of the sixteenth century Spaniards were the only white men who had planted permanent colonies in North America (§§ 29, 42). They, too, held the West Indies, the greater part of South America, the Philippines, and other groups of islands in the East. The King of Spain could then boast with truth "that the sun never set on his dominions."

As late almost as the beginning of the nineteenth century Spain still held the greater part of the West Indies, Mexico, Florida,

¹ See the Constitution — Amendments, Article XV.

² This power is called the right of *initiative* and of *referendum*; because the people initiate or originate legislation in the one case, while in the other they approve or reject the law which has been referred to them.

and the whole vast territory between the Mississippi River and the Pacific, which is now part of the United States.

In less than twenty-five years from that time Spain had been forced to sell or had lost¹ all of her immense possessions on the mainland of North America. The only important islands she had left in the West Indies were Cuba and Porto Rico.

411. The Revolution in Cuba; War for Independence. Spain's oppressive treatment of Cuba caused great discontent, and for many years there was danger of open revolt. The southern slave states coveted the island, which is as large as Pennsylvania and is almost in sight from Key West, Florida. The United States (1845) offered Spain \$100,000,000 for Cuba, but met with a flat refusal. Later, several armed expeditions tried to seize the island on behalf of the South. The American ministers to Great Britain, France, and Spain met at Ostend, in Belgium (1854), to discuss the Cuban question. They declared in the Ostend Manifesto that so long as Cuba should belong to Spain it would be dangerous to our peace, and that if Spain should continue to refuse to sell us the island we should be justified in taking it by force.

Later (1868), a rebellion broke out in Cuba² which lasted ten years. Then (1895) a new uprising occurred, and the Revolutionists declared themselves for "independence or death."³ This revolt in Cuba excited the people of the Spanish colony of the Philippines to declare their independence.

President Cleveland said that if the war in Cuba should go on, it must end in "the utter ruin of the island." He took the ground that rather than see that, it would be our duty to put a

¹ Napoleon forced Spain to give up the great province of Louisiana to him; in 1803 he sold it to us (§ 215); Spain felt obliged to sell us Florida, and at the same time (1819) to give up all claims to Oregon (§ 238); and Mexico freed herself from Spain by revolution.

² The population of Cuba consisted of (1) a small number of native Spaniards, who held nearly every position of power and trust; (2) the white creoles, who constituted the great bulk of the people; (3) mulattoes, free negroes, and Chinamen.

³ The progress of the rebellion developed four parties: (1) the Revolutionists, who demanded absolute separation from Spain; (2) the Autonomists, who asked for "home rule" — that is, the management of all local affairs — without separation from Spain; (3) the Spanish party in power, who opposed any change whatever; (4) a very large number of Cuban farmers who wished to remain neutral; all they asked was to be let alone and allowed to cultivate their farms in peace; but neither the Revolutionists nor the Spanish military authorities would permit this.

stop to the conflict. When President McKinley entered office the Cuban war was still raging, and an enormous amount of American property on the island had been destroyed.

On the one hand, the Revolutionists hanged those farmers who would not take up arms and join them; on the other, the commander of the Spanish army drove scores of thousands of the people into the towns and shut them up there to die of pestilence or starvation.

412. The Destruction of the *Maine*; Report of the Court of Inquiry. While this horrible state of things was going on, an event occurred which suddenly changed everything. The United States had sent Captain Sigsbee in command of the battle ship *Maine* to pay a friendly visit to Havana. While lying in the harbor of that port the *Maine* was destroyed by an explosion (1898). Two of her officers and the greater part of her crew were killed. The terrible news acted like an electric shock on the people of our country.

The United States appointed a naval Court of Inquiry to make an investigation. The court reported that, in their opinion, "the *Maine* was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine." The court found no evidence showing whether the explosion was caused by accident or design, and they accused no one of having been guilty of the act.

The Spanish government expressed their regret at the "lamentable incident." They believed that the explosion resulted from causes within the ship itself, and urged that the whole question should be referred to an arbitration committee chosen by different nations (§ 374). This proposal the United States declined to accept.

413. The President's Message; the Resolutions adopted by Congress. In April (1898) President McKinley sent a special message to Congress. He declared that in the "name of humanity," in the "name of civilization," and "in behalf of endangered American interests," the "*war in Cuba must stop.*"

Shortly afterward both Houses of Congress resolved (April 19, 1898) "that the people of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent." Furthermore, Congress demanded that Spain

should give up all sovereignty over Cuba; in case Spain refused, the President was authorized to use the land and naval forces of the United States to compel the Spaniards to leave the island.

Finally, Congress resolved that when peace should be made in Cuba, we would "leave the government and control of the island to its people." Later, however, Congress resolved (1902) that, in case of necessity, the Cubans must admit our right to act as guardians of their liberty (§ 419).

414. We prepare for War with Spain (1898); the Call for Volunteers; the Call for Money; the Navy; War declared. Spain refused to grant our demands and we determined to fight.

The President called for 200,000 volunteers. A million men stepped forward, saying, "Here am I; take me."

But in war, money is as necessary as men, for those who fight must be fed, clothed, armed, and paid. Congress had already placed \$50,000,000 in the President's hands to buy ships and complete coast defenses. Later, the government asked the people to lend them \$200,000,000 to pay the men in the army and navy. Only three per cent interest was offered, but the people came forward, ready to lend the government not simply \$200,000,000 but seven times more than was called for.

Congress next proceeded to pass a war revenue act which levied taxes of different kinds. These taxes brought into the United States Treasury from \$175,000,000 to \$200,000,000 annually. The entire act, with a few exceptions, was repealed four years later (1902).

In a contest with Spain the navy would naturally take the most prominent part. The President sent Captain William T. Sampson¹ with a fleet of war ships to blockade Havana and other ports of Cuba. He also ordered Commodore W. S. Schley² to organize a "flying squadron" of fast, armed steamers to be used as occasion might require. Congress then declared war (April 25, 1898).

415. The Battle of Manila. Commodore George Dewey, who had been with Farragut at the battle of New Orleans (§ 334),

¹ Captain Sampson had the rank of Acting Rear Admiral.

² Schley (sly or schlā).



NAVAL COMMANDERS

was then in command of our Asiatic squadron at Hongkong, China. The President ordered him to go to Manila, the capital of the Philippines (Map, p. 382), and "capture or destroy" the Spanish squadron which guarded that important port. Our plan was to attack Spain through her colonies of Cuba and the Philippines, and so strike her two heavy blows at the same time, — one on one side of the world, the other on the other.

Commodore Dewey had only six ships of war. The Spaniards at Manila held a fortified port; they had twice as many vessels as Dewey had, but our squadron was superior in size and armament; last of all, the enemy, though brave men and good fighters, had never learned how to fire straight.

On May 1, 1898, Commodore Dewey reported that he had just fought a battle in which he had destroyed every vessel of the Spanish squadron without losing a man. A French officer, who witnessed the fight, said that the American fire was "something awful" for its "accuracy and rapidity."

The "Hero of Manila" was promoted to the rank of rear admiral; after the war he was made admiral (1899), and Captain Sampson and Commodore Schley were made rear admirals.

416. Commodore Schley discovers Cervera's Squadron. Shortly before the battle of Manila Admiral Cervera left the Cape Verde Islands with a Spanish squadron of seven war ships. Nobody in America knew whether Cervera was headed for Cuba or whether he meant to shell the cities on our eastern coast.

Commodore Schley set out with his "flying squadron" (§ 414) to find the enemy. The Commodore discovered that the Spanish ships had entered the harbor of Santiago on the southeast coast of Cuba. (Map, p. 377.) He said with a grim smile, "They will never get home." They never did.

A few days later Captain Sampson sailed for Santiago. One of his squadron was the battle ship *Oregon*. It had come from San Francisco, through the Straits of Magellan, — an exciting voyage of over 13,000 miles, — in order to take part in the fight.

The entrance to the harbor of Santiago is long, narrow, and crooked; furthermore, it was protected by land batteries and

submarine mines. This made it practically impossible for our ships to attempt to enter to attack the enemy.

417. Fighting near Santiago; the "Rough Riders"; Destruction of Cervera's Squadron. Not long afterward General Shafter landed a strong force near Santiago to coöperate with Captain Sampson in the capture of that city.

A week later (July 1-2, 1898) our "regulars" and Roosevelt's "Rough Riders,"¹ who here fought on foot, stormed up the steep heights of El Caney and San Juan, overlooking the city of



MAP OF CUBA AND NEIGHBORING ISLANDS

Santiago. In spite of defenses made of barbed wire, they drove the Spanish, with heavy loss, pellmell into the city.

Captain Sampson then went down the coast to confer with General Shafter. Meanwhile, Commodore Schley, of the flagship *Brooklyn*, and the commanders of the other vessels of the fleet, were keeping a sharp lookout for Cervera (§ 416).

Not long after Captain Sampson left, a great shout went up from the *Brooklyn*: "The Spaniards are coming out of the harbor!" Both sides opened fire at the same moment (July 3, 1898). But the

¹ At the beginning of the war Theodore Roosevelt raised a force of volunteer cavalry. Colonel Leonard Wood took command of this regiment, in which Roosevelt held the position of lieutenant colonel. The regiment was popularly known as "Roosevelt's Rough Riders." It included "cowboys" from the West and college graduates and the sons of wealthy families from the East. The "Rough Riders" always showed themselves the equal of any men in the field for desperate fighting.

Spanish Admiral's squadron of six vessels proved to be no match for our fleet of six vessels, comprising four powerful battle ships.¹

In a few hours nothing was left of the enemy's squadron but helpless, blazing wrecks ; and Cervera himself was taken prisoner.



COLONEL ROOSEVELT

Spain needed the few ships she had left to protect her own coast. Her sea power was destroyed, and the war on the ocean was over.

It is a noteworthy fact that in our war with Spain, as in that with Mexico (§ 293), the American army and navy won every battle which they fought.

418. The End of the War. This decisive defeat compelled the Spaniards to surrender Santiago. Shortly afterward the first draft for a treaty of peace was signed. The President

then ordered all fighting to stop, and the Spanish governor of Porto Rico surrendered that island to General Miles.

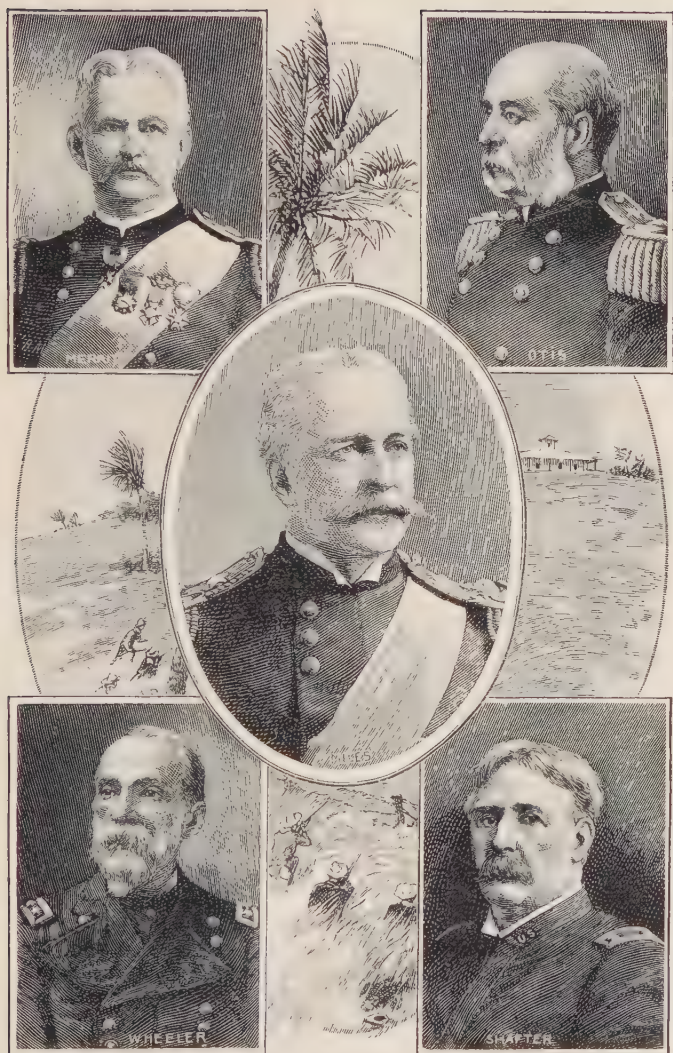
Before the President's dispatch could reach the Philippines, Rear Admiral Dewey and General Merritt, who had gone out with reinforcements, attacked and took Manila (August 13, 1898).

419. Our Seventh Step in National Expansion, — Annexation of Hawaii² and of the Islands ceded by Spain; the Treaty of Peace; Our Total Territorial Additions, 1803–1898. After Dewey's splendid victory at Manila (§ 415) Captain Mahan and other eminent men in our navy urged the annexation of Hawaii. They believed that we needed the islands as a military base of defense and of naval operations in the Pacific.

When the question came up in the United States Senate a number of senators declared that the people of the republic of Hawaii had not been fully and fairly consulted, and that the great

¹ Our fleet, then off Santiago (July 3, 1898), consisted of six war ships, among which were the battle ships *Iowa*, *Indiana*, *Oregon*, and *Texas*. The battle ship *Massachusetts*, with other war ships, and Captain Sampson's flag ship, the *New York*, were east of Santiago. Cervera had four first-class cruisers, but no battle ships.

² The Hawaiian group consists of twelve islands having a total area of less than 7000 square miles. The total population in 1900 was a little over 153,000. Of this number over 61,000 are Japanese and 25,000 are Chinese. There are over 28,000 white inhabitants and about 30,000 Hawaiians. Only a part of the population can speak English.



ARMY COMMANDERS

majority of them were unfit for self-government. But Congress passed a resolution to annex, and Hawaii became a part of the territory of the United States (1898).

The following year (1899) we came into possession of the Samoan Islands in the South Pacific. We now own a number of other small islands in the Pacific, several of which we use as coaling, naval, or telegraph stations. (Map, p. 382.)

Meanwhile, the final treaty of peace between the United States and Spain had been signed (1898). The terms of the treaty were as follows :

1. Spain gave up all right and title to Cuba.
2. Spain ceded Porto Rico¹ and Guam, the largest island in the Ladrones,² to the United States.
3. Finally, Spain ceded the entire group of the Philippines³ to us, on payment by us of \$20,000,000 for the public works which the Spanish government had constructed in those islands.

When the question of ratifying the treaty came before the Senate,⁴ a part of the members objected to our taking possession of the Philippines. They contended that we could not give the semicivilized or barbarous people of those islands the rights and privileges of American citizenship ; and that, on the other hand, we could not hold them under permanent military rule without violating the spirit of the American Republic. They urged, too, that the expense and difficulty of governing so distant a territory would be very great, and that there would be serious danger of our getting into war with some of the nations of Europe over questions that would arise about the islands.

¹ Porto Rico, with its three small dependent islands, has an area of a little over 3600 square miles, and is therefore nearly three times as large as the state of Rhode Island. It has a population of nearly a million, composed of whites, negroes, and mulattoes.

² Guam (Map, p. 382) has an area of 200 square miles and a population of 8661. It was seized by the United States, during the war with Spain, as a naval port.

³ The Philippines (Map, p. 382) comprise over 400 islands, many of which are very small. They have a total area of over 122,000 square miles. Luzon, the largest of the islands, of which Manila is the capital, has an area of nearly 40,000 square miles and is therefore nearly as large as the state of Ohio. The Philippines have a population of less than 8,000,000. The greater part of the inhabitants are (1) Malays, (2) savage tribes of an undersized negro-like race, and (3) Chinese.

⁴ The President may make a treaty provided two thirds of the senators present vote in favor of it. See the Constitution in the Appendix, Article II, Section 2, Paragraph 2.

They wished to amend the treaty so that it would simply make us the guardians over the Philippines, as in the case of Cuba, until the people of those islands should be able to govern themselves.

But a large majority of the Senate held that the Philippines would be safer, and in every way better off, if they became a part of the United States. They argued that we had no choice ; the war, said they, has forced us to annex distant islands ; it has thus made us a " world power " ; and our trade interests with China and the Far East demand that we should own the whole of the Philippines. We can hold them, they said, as we do Alaska, under some form of territorial government, until we see our way to do differently.

While the discussion was going on the natives attacked our forces at Manila. A fierce battle ensued, with the result that General Otis and Rear Admiral Dewey drove back the insurgents with terrible loss. The news of the battle was at once sent to Washington. The next day the Senate met to take action on the treaty of peace with Spain (1899). Fifty-seven senators voted for the treaty as it stood, against twenty-seven who voted against it. The result was that the treaty was ratified by one more than the two thirds' majority which the Constitution requires.¹ This gave the whole Philippine group and the islands of Porto Rico and Guam to the United States.

Let us stop here for a moment and review the seven great steps of our national territorial expansion from the first step to the present time. (See Map, p. 334.)

1. (1803) We purchased the province of Louisiana from France (§ 215).

2. (1819) We purchased Florida from Spain (§ 238).

3. (1845) We annexed the independent state of Texas at the urgent request of the people of that state (§ 285).

4. (1846) We settled our claim to Oregon by a treaty with Great Britain (§§ 287, 289).

5. (1848-1853) We added California and other Mexican land cessions obtained through the Mexican War (§ 294), and the Gadsden tract obtained by purchase from Mexico (§ 294).

¹ See the Constitution in the Appendix, Article II, Section 2, Paragraph 2.

6. (1868) We bought Alaska of Russia (§ 368).

7. (1898) We came into peaceful possession of Hawaii and obtained the Philippines and Porto Rico through our war with Spain. That means that in less than a century we have added nearly 3,000,000 square miles of territory to the United States.¹

The insurrection against the authority of the United States continued for two or three years. Finally, Aguinaldo, the Filipino leader, was captured (1901) and the rebellion practically ceased. Civil government has been established to a considerable extent in the islands, the Filipinos elect representatives to the Legislature, and many public schools have been opened.

In the meantime the Spanish had withdrawn from Cuba, which was to remain under our guardianship until the people should be prepared to govern themselves (§ 413). At noon on New Year's Day (1899) the Spanish flag was hauled down at Havana and the Stars and Stripes were hoisted above the palace and the castle of that ancient city. The Spanish general then bade a sorrowful farewell to the beautiful island. Spain, once so rich in American possessions (§ 410), does not now own a single foot of land on this side of the Atlantic.

Three years later (1902) the United States formally recognized the new republic of Cuba, but on the condition that the Cubans should acknowledge the right of the United States to take whatever action might be necessary to preserve the independence of the island and to protect the life, property, and liberty of its people.

Cuba soon had occasion to ask for our assistance. An insurrection broke out (1906); the Cuban President resigned his office and appealed to the United States for help. We made Secretary Taft provisional governor of the island and held it, for a time, by military power. Our government is now hopeful that the people of Cuba may be able to reestablish their republic on a permanent and peaceful foundation.

¹ The total area of the United States in 1800 was 827,844 square miles; its present area (including Alaska and our island possessions) is 3,756,884 square miles. The total additions amount to 2,929,040 square miles.

420. The Cost of the War in Money and Life; Work of the "Red Cross" and of the Women of America. The direct cost of the war with Spain was about \$165,000,000; but the increased expenses of the government in consequence of the war have been very heavy.

1. We have had to increase and strengthen our navy and standing army in order to hold and preserve peace in the Philippines and to protect Cuba.

2. We must pay pensions to the disabled soldiers and sailors who fought against Spain, and to the widows of those who were killed or died of disease.

No successful campaign in the records of our history was ever fought at such small cost of life in battle, the total loss in the entire hundred days being only 402; but many times that number died from disease.

The war showed the wonderful fighting power of our navy and of our land forces — both "regulars" and volunteers. It united the Union and the Confederate veterans under the old flag; and it brought the "Red Cross Society"¹ and the women of America to the front in their noble work of ministering to the wounded, the sick, and the dying.

421. The "Trans-Mississippi Exposition"; Cheap Lands; Agricultural Prosperity; Agricultural Colleges. While the war with Spain was going on, the Trans-Mississippi Exposition was opened at Omaha, Nebraska (1898). The object of this grand fair was to exhibit to the world the marvelous growth and resources of the states and territories west of the Mississippi.

Spain held that vast region when Coronado wandered through it in his search for gold (§ 22). Then France laid claim to a large part of it (§§ 131, 143). Finally, we purchased the French province

¹ The "Red Cross Society" was organized in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1864, by delegates from the chief nations of the world. Its object is to take care of all sick and wounded soldiers, whether friends or enemies, who may need immediate help. The society also interests itself in helping to stamp out the wide-spread disease of consumption, and it aids in providing relief for great calamities. Miss Clara Barton was the founder of the "American National Red Cross." Miss Helen Gould of New York, and other wealthy society women in different parts of the country, contributed very large sums for the relief of the soldiers and sailors in the war, and in some cases they or their friends acted as nurses in the hospitals.

of Louisiana (§ 215). Fifty years ago the greater part of it was an unexplored wilderness. Not a single mile of railway penetrated the country; and the school maps of that day marked a central portion, covering many thousand square miles, with the forbidding name: "GREAT AMERICAN DESERT."¹

The building of railways (§§ 255, 270, 370) and the generous offer by the government of cheap lands, and finally of free lands, made rapid changes in that part of the country and converted the "American Desert" into what is now popularly called the "Bread Basket of the World."

Under the Homestead Act, to which reference has been made (§ 371), every permanent settler receives 160 acres of land practically free of charge. It is estimated that between 1862 and the present time, Western farmers have taken up over 170,000,000 acres, or over 260,000 square miles. This area is more than four times the size of England and Wales, and nearly six times larger than Pennsylvania. Forty years ago it was the home of the buffalo and the hunting ground of the Indian; now it is cultivated by men who own it, live on it, and prosper by it.

A noted writer has said that it is a great thing for any one to make two ears of corn or two blades of grass grow where only one grew before. But the Trans-Mississippi Exposition showed that the Western farmer has done even better than this; for he has made corn grow where it never grew before, and in some cases he has made grass spring up where not a blade of it was ever seen.

The liberal government policy which gave homesteads to tens of thousands of hard-working, thrifty settlers, and thereby enriched the country, did not stop there; it also gave large tracts of land to each state to establish agricultural colleges. More than sixty of these educational institutions have been founded. In many cases

¹ The Great American Desert: this name was formerly applied to an unexplored region lying west of the Mississippi. It had no very definite limits. Later, the name was given to a tract of country south and west of Great Salt Lake, Utah. At present the name is sometimes used to designate a large section of the region lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada and Cascade mountains. Irrigation is rendering portions of this barren tract increasingly productive. Much of this desert area is rich in valuable minerals.

they have been productive of much good; and, if well managed, they will sow the seed for a harvest of still greater good.

The same year (1898) was one of great agricultural prosperity for the United States. The West raised enormous crops of grain. The foreign demand put up the price. Millions of bushels were sent abroad which were paid for in gold, filling the farmer's pockets and adding largely to the wealth of the country.

Since then American farmers and planters have harvested in a single season (1908) crops of corn, cotton, wheat, and other products of the soil worth nearly seven thousand eight hundred million dollars! Out of the profits, the producers could have paid all the ordinary expenses of the national government for that year, and still have had a handsome balance left in the banks.¹ That, certainly, was a good year's work.

422. The Preservation of Our Forests; Irrigation of Desert Regions. But progress has been made in other directions, equally important to agriculture and to the country at large. An old maxim tells us that a "penny saved is a penny got." This holds as true of millions of dollars as it does of pennies.

One great source of waste in the United States has been the unwise destruction of great areas of forest. Where the trees covering a large extent of country are indiscriminately cut down or are burned, the streams in that section often become devastating torrents in the spring, and then suddenly dry up in hot weather. This condition of things has a direct effect on the cultivation of the soil and on the production of agricultural wealth.

Since 1891 the general government and a number of state governments have turned their attention to the preservation of forests and to the irrigation of great desert tracts west of the Rocky Mountains.

The total forest area in the United States at the beginning of 1909 was about 700,000,000 acres. Yet this seemingly inexhaustible extent of woodland is rapidly disappearing. The demands made on our forests are constantly increasing. We want not only fencing and firewood, but we want lumber for building, ties for railways, and wood pulp to make into printing paper. Then again, every

¹ The ordinary expenses of the government for 1908 were a little under \$660,000,000.

year fires break out, which destroy hundreds of thousands of acres of standing timber. For these reasons the government authorities say that unless great care is taken our woods will not last very long.

To prevent such a deplorable loss, the nation now sets apart certain forest districts, in order to preserve them and preserve the streams which rise in them.² A number of states do the same. Furthermore, forty-five out of forty-six of our states have appointed one day in the year, called Arbor Day, for tree planting. By these means it is hoped that the good work of saving the woods, and in some cases of actually creating them, may in time prove of great benefit to the whole country.

423. What the People save; Wealth of the Country; Gifts for the Public Good. Taking the Republic as a whole, no nation in the world shows greater thrift than our own highly favored land. The first three savings banks in America were established in 1816-1817 in Philadelphia, Boston, and New York. In 1820 the total deposits in these institutions amounted to but little more than \$1,000,000. To-day they reach far more than three thousand times that sum!³ The greater part of this mass of money is the result of years of patient toil by an army of workers who believe in Franklin's advice: "Save and have."

The steady growth of these banks is an index of the general growth in prosperity which is going on to a greater or less extent among all classes. The estimated increase of the real and personal property of the United States from 1880 to 1890 was nearly 50 per cent. The census returns of 1900 showed that the "true valuation" or fair selling price of the total property of the country on the eve of the beginning of the twentieth century fell only a little short of \$100,000,000,000. Seven years later it was estimated at not less than \$116,000,000,000.

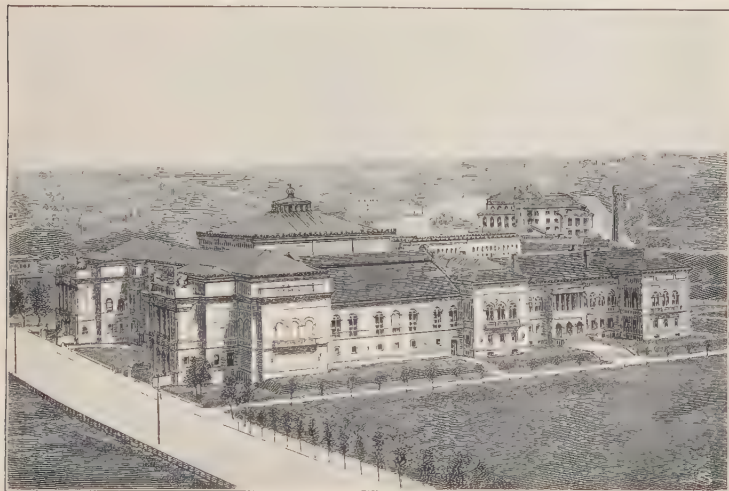
¹ The U. S. Forest Service reports (1909) that the demand for lumber, railway ties, wood pulp, fencing, etc., now requires the cutting of over 100,000 acres of timber every day in the year.

² On January 1, 1908, the national forests west of the Mississippi River covered about 234,000 square miles. East of the Mississippi no national forests exist, but the government is discussing (1909) the establishment of such forests in the Appalachian range.

³ The total deposits in the savings banks of the United States in 1909 were, in round numbers, over \$3,700,000,000. This is very much larger than the deposits in such banks in any other country in the world.

It is pleasant to know that side by side with this great accumulation of property there is wise and generous giving. President Eliot of Harvard University says that no people anywhere have equaled our countrymen in what they have done and are doing for the support of schools, churches, and charities.

Figures prove the truth of this statement. Not reckoning what was contributed to churches, the private citizens of the United States gave, in the course of a single year (1907-1908), nearly



CARNEGIE INSTITUTE, PITTSBURG

\$150,000,000 — or practically half a million dollars for every working day — to help forward the cause of education, to establish libraries and art museums, to endow homes for friendless children, for the aged poor, and hospitals for the sick and the suffering.¹ The whole amount given for such purposes within the last ten years exceeds \$900,000,000.

424. The "Open Door" in China; The Hague Treaty. Within a few years five of the great nations of Europe, with Japan, obtained control of important ports and sections of territory in

¹ This included John D. Rockefeller's gift of \$32,000,000 for the promotion of higher education, Mrs. Russell Sage's gift of \$10,000,000 for social service, and Andrew Carnegie's gift of nearly \$9,000,000 (to which he has since added \$9,000,000 more) to the Carnegie Institute.

China. England wished to have all of these made free to the commerce of the world, but the other five nations refused to give their consent. John Hay, Secretary of State, saved China from being broken up into fragments and parceled out among the powers of Europe. He too (1900) obtained the great privilege — called the "open door." It gives every American the same right to buy or sell goods in China that any citizen of any foreign state possesses.

Next, the Senate ratified The Hague Peace Conference Treaty. By this agreement the United States, with the principal nations of Europe and with Japan, bind themselves to maintain a perpetual Court¹ of Arbitration in the city of The Hague, the capital of Holland. The object of the Court is to do away, as far as possible, with war between the nations signing the treaty.²

425. The Gold Standard Act, 1900; the Panama Canal. When the American government first went into operation the silver dollar was made the chief measure of value (§§ 202, 373, 396, 400). In 1900 a great change took place, and notwithstanding strong opposition, an act was passed which made the gold dollar the standard measure of value. Whatever other money the United States issues must now come up to this new standard.

Ever since we came into possession of California there has been talk of digging a canal from ocean to ocean, either across the Isthmus of Panama or by way of Lake Nicaragua. Early in the present century (1903) we ratified a treaty with Colombia for the right of a water way across the isthmus; but Colombia declined to grant it. The people of the isthmus declared themselves independent and took the name, Republic of Panama. We then made a canal treaty with the new republic by which we secured control of a strip of territory ten miles in width, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, for which we paid \$10,000,000. We next purchased the unfinished French Panama Canal for \$40,000,000. We are now pushing forward the great

¹ In the past the United States has settled many serious disputes with other countries by arbitration. See the *Alabama* case (§ 374) and the *Bering Sea* case (§ 400).

² The Hague Tribunal decided its first case — between Mexico and the United States (1902) — in our favor.

work of excavating the canal. Our trade with the countries and states bordering on the Pacific demands the completion of the water way at the earliest practicable date. Still further, our vessels of war need it in order that they may be able to pass quickly and easily from one side of America to the other, without having to make the long and dangerous voyage around South America (§ 431).



STEAM SHOVELS EXCAVATING THE PANAMA CANAL

426. Census of 1900. The twelfth census (1900) returned the total population of the United States at over 76,000,000. This shows a gain of more than 20 per cent over the population reported by the census of 1890 (§ 397). Statistics proved that our commerce was keeping pace with our growth in numbers. To-day we stand at the head of the nations of the world in the magnitude of our foreign trade (§ 407).

427. The Pan-American Exposition ; the Assassination of President McKinley. The following spring (1901) the Pan-American Exposition¹ was opened at Buffalo, New York. It was especially designed to show the progress made by the nations of North, South, and Central America in agriculture, manufactures, and the arts. Furthermore, its object was to unite all the nations of the American continent in closer commercial intercourse for their common benefit.

¹ Pan-American Exposition : *pan*, a Greek word meaning "all."

President McKinley visited the Exposition in September and made his last speech on that occasion. He then expressed the hope that the exhibition would tend to bring the United States into broader and freer trade relations with foreign countries.

The next day (September 6), while holding a reception at the Exposition, the President was treacherously shot by a young man who came forward to shake hands with him. The assassin¹ was an avowed anarchist (§ 389), whose object was to destroy the government. The wickedness of the crime was only equaled by its folly, for our history had twice before proved, in the case of the assassination of President Lincoln (§ 358) and of President Garfield (§ 381), that the murder of the chief magistrate of the American Republic cannot overthrow the Republic itself. Mr. McKinley died about a week later, and under the provisions of the Constitution Vice President Roosevelt² became President.

428. A Fourth Great Strike; Wireless Telegraphy; the Pacific Cable; the Louisiana Purchase Exposition; the Portland, Oregon, Exposition. In the following spring (1902) the United Mine Workers of the hard-coal mines of Pennsylvania struck for an increase of wages and for shorter hours.³ More than 140,000 men quit work. It was the fourth great historic strike (§§ 377, 397, 401). For the first time since the first shovelful of hard coal was dug in Pennsylvania (§ 270), all of the anthracite mines were shut down.

The strike lasted a little more than five months. It was finally settled (1902) by both parties pledging themselves to abide for three years by the decisions of a Coal Strike Commission appointed by President Roosevelt. The Commission unanimously awarded a

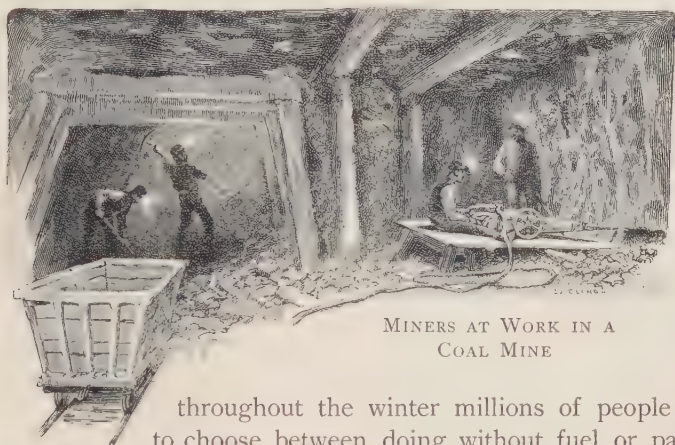
¹ Leon F. Czolgosz, the assassin, was the son of an emigrant from central Europe; he was born in the United States. He was executed at Auburn, New York, in 1901.

² See the Constitution, Article II, Section 1, Paragraph 6, and compare § 392 on the Presidential Succession Act.

³ The United Mine Workers offered to leave the questions in dispute to the decision of the Arbitration Committee of the National Civic Association (a body composed of men of high standing, representing not only capital and union labor but the interests of the general public as well). But the managers of the coal railways declined to accept the offer on the ground that they considered that the Arbitration Committee did not have a practical knowledge of coal mining.

moderate increase of wages and some reduction in hours of labor. It furthermore required that future disputes should be settled by arbitration, and that all men engaged in the mines, whether members of the union or independent workers, should be equally protected in their right to labor.

The Commission estimated the cost of the strike to all parties directly concerned in it at nearly \$100,000,000. But no figures could show the loss and suffering endured by the public; for



MINERS AT WORK IN A
COAL MINE

throughout the winter millions of people had to choose between doing without fuel or paying enormous prices for it.

Late in the same year (1902) another event of much interest occurred. It will be remembered that Americans laid the first telegraphic cable to Europe (§ 367). They now finished laying one between San Francisco and Hawaii. The line was then carried to Manila, where it connects with one to Hongkong. The next Fourth of July President Roosevelt sent a message over this cable around the world.

Meanwhile, President Roosevelt (January 18, 1903) sent a message of congratulation to King Edward of England by Marconi's wireless telegraph (§ 284) from the station at Wellfleet on Cape Cod. This was the first telegram sent through the air from the United States across the Atlantic. It marked another step

forward in that wonderful development of electrical science which began in this country, by Doctor Franklin's experiments, more than a century and a half ago (§ 152). Experiments already referred to (§ 373) seem to indicate that the wireless telephone may be the next step.

On the last of April (1904) the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was opened at St. Louis. It commemorated that day, when, a hundred years before, we more than doubled the area of our country by the acquisition of the Louisiana territory (§§ 215, 216). It showed the marvelous growth of that part of the great West lying between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains.

The year following (1905) Portland, Oregon, opened an exposition which proved a great success. It celebrated not only the Lewis and Clark Centennial (§ 216), but one of the most interesting of the "heroic periods" in the history of that part of the United States west of the Rocky Mountains.

429. Summary. The chief events of the administrations of Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt (1897-1905) were (1) the enactment of the Dingley high protective tariff; (2) the enormous increase in American exports; (3) the war with Spain, with the annexation of Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, and the establishment of our guardianship over Cuba; (4) the wonderful agricultural progress of the country west of the Mississippi River, with our action toward the preservation of forests and the irrigation of desert regions; (5) the growth of national wealth and of gifts for the public good; (6) the passage of the Gold Standard Act; (7) the "open door" in China, and The Hague Peace Conference; (8) our action in regard to the Panama Canal; (9) the assassination of President McKinley; (10) the great coal strike; (11) the laying of the Pacific telegraph cable, and the sending of the first wireless telegram from the United States to England; (12) the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT (REPUBLICAN)¹

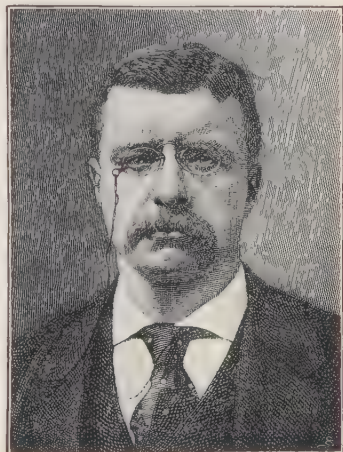
430. Roosevelt's Administration (Twenty-seventh President, One Term, 1905-1909); Some Things Americans are doing in the Twentieth Century; how Disasters are met. In his inaugural address President Roosevelt said there are two things that we should all resolve to do: first, to keep whatever is good in our native land unwasted and unharmed; secondly, to make that good still better, for the sake of those who are coming after us. There were many who heard the President's earnest words who could truthfully answer, That is what we are now trying to do.

1. We are working to save time, — "the stuff," as Franklin said, "of which life is made."

The American steam shovels are cutting a passage for ships across the Isthmus of Panama, from ocean to ocean. This will make the voyage from New York to San Francisco 8000 miles shorter than that around South America.

Next, as we have already seen (§§ 250, 251), the state of New York is engaged in deepening and enlarging the Erie Canal. When that great work is done immense new boats, moved by steam, will go from Buffalo to New York City in six days — just half the time they take now. They will bring millions of bushels of grain from the West² at rates much lower than at present. This will make bread cheaper in the eastern states and in Europe as well.

Finally, we are improving and extending our railways, and taking measures to secure greater safety in railway travel. We have



PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

¹ Born in New York, 1858 (§ 417, note 1); elected Vice President, 1900; became President, 1901; awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, \$40,000, 1906, with which he endowed the Foundation for the Promotion of Industrial Peace. Elected President by the Republicans, 1904, over Alton B. Parker, Democrat.

² Much of this grain will come through the Soo Ship Canal, which carries far more freight than the Suez Canal.

many more miles of steam roads than all the countries of Europe combined.¹ Furthermore, we are increasing the speed of our trains. By so doing we save time to every passenger and on every car load of freight; here time is money.

2. We are trying to save health, without which life is hardly worth living. We are working for the children, so that they may grow up with strong bodies and active minds. We are endeavoring to secure pure food, and our cities and villages are making efforts to obtain cleaner streets and better drinking water.



ONE OF THE CALIFORNIA "BIG TREES"

It was only about fifty years ago that New York planned the first great pleasure ground in this country and named it Central Park. To-day every leading American city has one or more such open spaces, including playgrounds for children and ball grounds where all can freely enjoy fresh air and sunshine.

But not satisfied with doing this good work, we have laid out national parks on a generous scale. They will preserve some of the grandest mountain, river, and forest scenery in the world. We have one such park in the Yosemite Valley

in California, another in the valley of the Yellowstone River in Wyoming, a third at Mt. Rainier in the state of Washington, and a fourth at Crater Lake in Oregon. These, with some smaller ones, like the Big Tree Parks in California, cover a space a little larger than the states of Rhode Island and Delaware put together.

Recently the national government has recommended that we make a national park of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River in Arizona. It is furthermore hoped that Niagara Falls

¹ The total length of railways of the United States at the close of 1904 exceeded 212,000 miles, and in 1908 it exceeded 220,000 miles. Europe has in all only about 150,000 miles.

may be preserved. Then both will become the common property of American citizens for all time.

3. We are taking steps to save our farming and pasture land, our forests, our coal and iron mines, our quarries, our oil fields, our natural gas, and the water courses of our country, so that they shall be protected against needless waste ; we are reclaiming vast areas of desert regions by careful irrigation, and we are beginning to reclaim extensive marshes by drainage. The government at Washington employs a number of trained men who devote their whole time to this most important work.

They examine the soils of the different states and territories to see what crops will grow best on them. They try experiments with trees, plants, grasses, vegetables, grains, seeds, fruits, and flowers. Through their labors our farmers are converting swamps, sand hills, and stony places into broad, fertile fields. In this way, too, we are drawing new riches from the earth, — the mother of nearly all the riches we possess, whether they come from cotton plantations, grain, corn, rice, or sugar fields, fruit orchards, dairy and poultry farms, cattle ranches, or from mines, quarries, forests, and streams.

In the spring of his last term of office (1908) President Roosevelt invited the governors of all the states and territories of the Union to meet him in Washington. They gathered there to consider what action we should take to save these natural resources of America, which have just been mentioned. They asked how we could use them to the greatest advantage and yet keep them for the longest possible time. It is safe to say that the meeting was the most important one of the kind ever held in the history of our country. Great good ought to come from it to us all.

4. But going beyond these things, we are beginning to try to save the wear and tear of human life. Not very much has been done in this direction yet, but we look forward with hopeful hearts. We believe that the time will come when we shall be able to settle all labor disputes in a friendly way. Then strikes and lockouts will practically cease. Better work will be done and better results obtained.

Last of all, we are trying to see what can be done to save the needless destruction of human life by foolish and hasty wars. For even now, notwithstanding all our progress, by far the greater part of our enormous national revenue is spent either in preparation for war or in discharging debts and pensions incurred in our past wars¹; besides this, it is doubtful if the world ever before saw so many men in uniform, with guns in their hands, as we see now. But there is another side to the picture, for never before have there been so many wise and thoughtful men resolved to do all in their power to hold back nations from unnecessary fighting.

We can truthfully say that, in the main, the influence of America is on the side of peace. Our record in the arbitration of international disputes shows that fact (§§ 374, 400, 424). In accordance with this principle, President Roosevelt (1905) persuaded Japan and Russia to end their terrible war. In the same year the United States made a treaty or agreement with Mexico and a number of the republics of Central America and of South America, which promises to prevent many useless quarrels. Recently (1907-1908) six important arbitration treaties have been ratified with England, France, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, and Portugal.

In these four ways we Americans are trying to save time, health, the good earth on which we live, and human life. There are more than 17,000,000 children in our public schools, who, we hope, will grow up to take part in this beneficent work.

But recent events show that Americans are developing another kind of power. They are manifesting their ability to face and overcome widespread disaster and business panics.

Reference has been made (§ 372) to the conflagrations which occurred in Chicago (1871), in Boston (1872), and to the Charleston earthquake (1886). These calamities were followed by the Galveston hurricane (1900), which destroyed more than 6000

¹ Total ordinary expenditures of the national government for 1907 were over \$578,000,000; of this amount over \$101,000,000 was spent on the army, directly or indirectly; over \$97,000,000 on the navy; over \$139,000,000 on pensions; and over \$24,000,000 in payment of interest on the national war debt,—or a total of \$363,000,000. Since the government was established in 1789 the total expenditure to 1907, inclusive, has been less than \$5,000,000,000 for civil and miscellaneous expenses, and more than \$15,000,000,000 for war expenses.

lives, property valued at \$18,000,000, and which swept away much of the very ground on which the city stood. Four years later (1904) the great Baltimore fire burned up property worth upwards of \$50,000,000. In all these cases the citizens have more than made good the devastation, and the rapidly growing port of Galveston has completed a gigantic sea wall to protect the new city for the future.

Two years later (1906) came a still heavier blow. The California earthquake wrought havoc far beyond anything the country had ever before experienced. Its destructive force showed itself on the greatest scale at San Francisco, where scores of costly buildings were overthrown. Fire completed the work of devastation. More than 200,000 persons were rendered homeless, and property valued at more than \$400,000,000 was destroyed.

The whole population of the United States rose to send aid to the stricken city. It was a demonstration of the fact that with us North, South, East, and West form but one country and one people, and that the blow which strikes the remotest part is felt by all.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of San Francisco showed their wonderful power of self-help. They proved what Americans have proved more than once, that is, that strength of heart and strength of will can find ways to turn loss into gain. Standing in the midst of confusion and desolation, they set their hands to the work, and above the ruins and the ashes of their old home they are building a new and grander city.

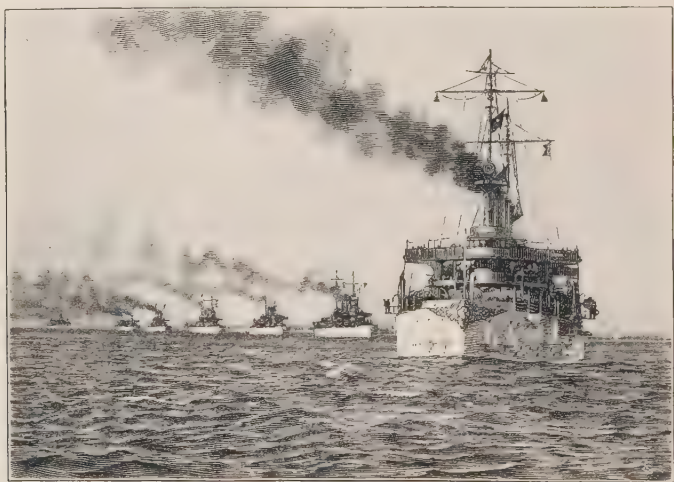
In the same spirit the business men of our entire country met the money panic (§§ 275, 312, 373, 400) of a later date (1907). Wise action saved us from what might have been enormous destruction of business interests.

431. Admission of Oklahoma; Three Important Laws; Cruise of Our Fleet; Presidential Election (1908); Japan. During 1907 Congress admitted the state of Oklahoma (§ 394). It was formed by uniting Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory. This makes a total of forty-six states.

Congress also passed three other bills of great importance. They were the Railway Rate Bill, — intended to give greater power

to the Interstate Commerce Act (§ 392), — the Pure Food and Drug Bill, and the Meat Inspection Bill. The object of the two last-mentioned laws is to protect the health of the people, and, at the same time, to encourage all dealers to offer for sale the best and most wholesome foods.

Near the close of the year (1907) a fleet of twenty of our vessels of war (§ 395), including sixteen first-class battle ships, left Hampton Roads, Virginia, on a voyage to San Francisco and Seattle. The



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OUR FLEET LEAVING HAMPTON ROADS ON ITS VOYAGE ROUND
THE WORLD

"Good-by and good luck," — President Roosevelt's last words to Admiral
Evans, commander of the fleet.

fleet carried 15,000 men. It passed through the dangerous Straits of Magellan and reached San Francisco in May (1908). Visits were paid to the northern Pacific coast and to Hawaii, Manila, Japan, China, and Australia. The fleet then passed through the Suez Canal into the Mediterranean, and, before leaving for home, furnished relief to the earthquake sufferers in southern Italy (1909). The total distance covered is estimated at about 40,000 miles. Never before in the history of the world has so large a fleet undertaken so long a voyage.

In the Presidential election (November, 1908) William H. Taft of Ohio¹ and James S. Sherman of New York, the Republican candidates for President and Vice President, were elected.

Less than a month later the Secretary of State of the United States made an important agreement with the Japanese minister at Washington. The agreement declares the intention of both to endeavor to maintain peace in the Pacific between America and Japan and to follow the policy of the late Secretary Hay (§ 424) in doing full justice to the rights of China.

432. General Summary. In this book we have endeavored to trace the progress of our country from its earliest period to the present time. We have seen it grow from a few feeble colonies, planted along the Atlantic coast, to a group of thirteen sturdy and independent states.

We have followed the development of that commonwealth of states and their added territories into a great, prosperous, and powerful nation, which numbered at the last census (1900) over 76,000,000 of people,² and which now not only extends from ocean to ocean, but also embraces important islands in both the Atlantic and the Pacific.

With the single exception of Russia in Asia,³ the American Republic controls the largest portion of the earth's surface⁴ under



WILLIAM H. TAFT

¹ William H. Taft was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1857. He graduated at Yale University, and in 1883 began the practice of law in his native city. In 1892 he was appointed a judge in the United States Circuit Courts. In 1901 he was appointed the first civil governor of the Philippines. In 1904 he became Secretary of War. In 1908 he was elected President.

² The official returns of the census of 1900 give a population of 76,304,799. In 1909 the total population was estimated at over 90,000,000.

³ The Chinese Empire is not excepted, since, according to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, its area is only about 3,000,000 square miles.

⁴ The area of the United States, including Alaska and our island possessions, is estimated at 3,756,884 square miles.

the management of any one government on any one of the grand divisions of the globe.

Here every advantage is open. Education is absolutely free. Millions of acres of Western lands are still open to settlement. Here, and here only, among the leading civilized nations, no colossal standing army eats up the daily earnings of the people.¹ Here every law springs, or may spring, directly from the will of the majority.

These facts prove the truth of the motto chosen for this book. They show that **America means Opportunity**. In closing this brief history can we do better than ask, each one of himself, What use do I intend to make of this opportunity? The whole future of the Republic for good or ill, for growth or decay, for glory or shame, depends on the way in which we individually answer this question.

¹ The leading standing armies of Europe are: Russia, over 835,000; France, nearly 500,000; Germany, over 562,000; Great Britain, over 220,000. In February, 1901, Congress passed an act permitting the standing army of the United States to be increased to 100,000 men. The United States is the only great nation in the world, except Great Britain, which does not compel men to serve in the regular army.

APPENDIX

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS¹ ASSEMBLED

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety

¹ The First Continental or General Congress met in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. It consisted of forty-four delegates, representing eleven of the thirteen colonies. Later, eleven more delegates took their seats, and all of the colonies were represented except Georgia, which promised to concur with "her sister colonies" in their effort to maintain their rights as English subjects. Peyton Randolph of Virginia was elected President of the Congress. Among the distinguished men who had assembled there, were Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, John Dickinson, William Livingston, John Jay, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Roger Sherman, and the Rutledges of South Carolina.

On the 14th of October the Congress adopted a *Declaration of Colonial Rights*. On the 26th a *Petition to the King*, asking the redress of their wrongs, was drawn up.

The Second Continental Congress (at which Georgia was represented) met in Philadelphia, in the State House (Independence Hall), May 10, 1775. A second *Petition to the King* was adopted, and Washington was appointed commander in chief of the Continental army, though Congress still denied any intention of separating from Great Britain, and earnestly expressed a desire for the peaceful settlement of all difficulties.

The King's Proclamation, declaring the colonies in rebellion, and calling for volunteers to force them to submit to taxation without representation, and other unjust measures, finally convinced the delegates to Congress of the impossibility of our continuing our allegiance to the English crown.

On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia moved "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, *free and independent States*; that they are absolved from all

and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, — a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measure.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." This motion was adopted on July 2. John Adams of Massachusetts seconded the motion.

A little later a committee of five — Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, John Adams of Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston of New York — was appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence. "From the fulness of his own mind, without consulting one single book, yet having in memory the example of the Swiss and the manifesto of the United Provinces of The Netherlands," Jefferson drew up the paper, though some alterations were made in it by the committee and by Congress.

It was adopted on the evening of July 4, 1776, and signed by John Hancock, President of Congress, and Charles Thomson, Secretary. On August 2, 1776, it was signed by the members, representing all the thirteen states.

See Bancroft's "United States" (author's last revised edition, 1884), IV, ch. 26-28, and V, ch. 1. For a printed copy of Jefferson's original draft of the Declaration with the changes made in it by the committee and by Congress see the "Madison Papers," I, pp. 19-27, or the "Old South Leaflets," General Series, No. 3. An exact copy of the beginning of Jefferson's original manuscript draft, with his corrections, is given in Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," VI, p. 260; see too, in this connection, John Adams' account of Jefferson's "Drafting the Declaration of Independence" in Adams' Works (1850), II, pp. 513-514, or in Hart's "Source Book of American History," pp. 147-149. A facsimile or exact copy of the Declaration, in manuscript, as engrossed and signed, will be found in Force's "American Archives," Series V, I, p. 1597. The original manuscript itself is preserved in the Patent Office at Washington.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;¹

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offenses;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries,² so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries³ to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny already begun with circumstances of

¹ This count in Jefferson's indictment of the "King of Great Britain" is generally considered to have been the chief cause of the American Revolution.

² This refers to Canada and the Quebec Act (see § 160, note 1).

³ This refers to the Hessians (see § 166).

cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing Declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed and signed by the following members:

JOHN HANCOCK

NEW HAMPSHIRE

JOSIAH BARTLETT
WILLIAM WHIPPLE
MATTHEW THORNTON

MASSACHUSETTS BAY

SAMUEL ADAMS
JOHN ADAMS
ROBERT TREAT PAINE
ELBRIDGE GERRY

RHODE ISLAND

STEPHEN HOPKINS
WILLIAM ELLERY

CONNECTICUT

ROGER SHERMAN
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON
WILLIAM WILLIAMS
OLIVER WOLCOTT

NEW YORK

WILLIAM FLOYD
PHILIP LIVINGSTON
FRANCIS LEWIS
LEWIS MORRIS

NEW JERSEY

RICHARD STOCKTON
JOHN WITHERSPOON

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

v

NEW JERSEY

(Continued)

FRANCIS HOPKINSON
JOHN HART
ABRAHAM CLARK

PENNSYLVANIA

ROBERT MORRIS
BENJAMIN RUSH
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
JOHN MORTON
GEORGE CLYMER
JAMES SMITH
GEORGE TAYLOR
JAMES WILSON
GEORGE ROSS

DELAWARE

CÆSAR RODNEY
GEORGE READ
THOMAS M'KEAN

MARYLAND

SAMUEL CHASE
WILLIAM PACA
THOMAS STONE
CHARLES CARROLL, of Car-
rollton

VIRGINIA

GEORGE WYTHE
RICHARD HENRY LEE
THOMAS JEFFERSON
BENJAMIN HARRISON
THOMAS NELSON, JR.

FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE
CARTER BRAXTON

NORTH CAROLINA

WILLIAM HOOPER
JOSEPH HEWES
JOHN PENN

SOUTH CAROLINA

EDWARD RUTLEDGE
THOMAS HEYWARD, JR.
THOMAS LYNCH, JR.
ARTHUR MIDDLETON

GEORGIA

BUTTON GWINNETT
LYMAN HALL
GEORGE WALTON

Resolved, That copies of the Declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees, or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, at the head of the army.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES¹

(This copy of the Constitution conforms in wording and punctuation to the copy published by the Department of State at Washington in 1902; but in order to facilitate reference to its contents, side headings, in full-face type, have been prefixed to the paragraphs.

All paragraphs, or parts of paragraphs, which are inclosed in brackets (see, for example, the third paragraph of Article I, Section 2) were either temporary provisions or they have been modified or superseded.

Footnotes have been appended on all points which seemed to require them.)

PREAMBLE

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

¹ Before the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, the thirteen colonies were subject to the King of Great Britain. From July 4, 1776, the United States of America were governed by a Continental or General Congress until March 1, 1781, when the States adopted a constitution, called the "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States" (see the Articles in Macdonald's "Documentary Source Book of American History," or in Macy's "Our Government," or Boynton's "Civics"; also in Hart and Channing's "American History Leaflets," No. 20, or the "Old South Leaflets," General Series, No. 2). The Confederacy had no President, no supreme court, and consisted of a single house of Congress, made up of delegates elected by the legislatures of the States. Under this constitution Congress continued to govern — in so far as a body with no practical authority can be said to govern — until March 4, 1789; but on May 14, 1787, a convention of delegates from all the States, except Rhode Island, met in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, "to form a *more perfect union*" (see the opening words of the Constitution above). The whole number of delegates that eventually attended was fifty-five, but only thirty-nine signed the Constitution. The Articles of Confederation had been made by the *States* only; but as the opening words of the new compact declare "We, *the people*," made the Constitution.

George Washington presided over the convention, and Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, James Madison, Rufus King, Roger Sherman, Alexander Hamilton, John Dickinson, Charles C. Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, J. Rutledge, and Gouverneur Morris were among its distinguished members.

Washington, Madison, Hamilton, Franklin, and Gouverneur Morris took the leading part in the great work of drafting the new Constitution, and after its adoption by the convention Madison and Hamilton used their influence, with great effect, to urge the ratification by the States, especially by New York (see their papers in the *Federalist*).

The convention sat with closed doors and maintained the utmost secrecy. After a stormy session of nearly four months, during which the convention several times threatened to break up in hopeless dispute, the Constitution was at last adopted (for the compromises on which it rested, see p. 173, note 1). Madison seems to have been the delegate who did more than any one else in drafting the plan of the instrument. On that account he is

ARTICLE I. LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION I. CONGRESS

Legislative Powers. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress¹ of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Election of Members. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

Qualifications. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

sometimes called the "Father of the Constitution." On the other hand, we appear to be indebted mainly to Gouverneur Morris for the clearness and precision of the style of the document.

While the members of the convention were signing the Constitution the venerable Dr. Franklin, then aged eighty-one, rose and said: "I have often, in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at the sun [painted on the wall back of the president's chair], without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a *rising*, and not a setting sun."

The Constitution was then submitted to the Congress of the Confederacy. That body, after discussing it, sent it to the State legislatures; they, in turn, submitted it, for final ratification, to the conventions chosen by the people of the several States (see Article VII of the Constitution). In 1788 eleven had ratified it (Rhode Island and North Carolina declining then, though they gave their assent before the close of 1790), and on March 4, 1789, the new Constitution went into operation, although, owing to delays, Washington was not inaugurated as the first President until April 30 of that year.

For a detailed account of the action of the Constitutional Convention see Elliot's "Debates in the Convention," etc., 5 vols.; Schouler's "United States," I, ch. 1, or McMaster's "History of the People of the United States," I, pp. 389-399, 416-423, and 436-553. A good brief account of it is given in Boynton's "Civics."

A facsimile, or exact copy, of the original manuscript of the Constitution will be found in Carson's "Hundredth Anniversary of the Constitution," I, p. 238.

The manuscript itself and the Amendments are preserved in the State Department at Washington.

Since the Constitution went into operation in 1789, it has been modified in several ways, namely: (1) by amendment (see the Fifteen Amendments which follow it); (2) by decisions and interpretations of the Supreme Court of the United States; (3) by political usage, especially respecting either the broad or the strict construction of the provisions of the instrument. See on these points pp. 237-238, with references, of the "Student's American History" in this series.

In this connection the pupil will find an interesting chapter in Boynton's "Civics" on the "Unwritten Constitution," and one in Macy's "Our Government" on the "Silences of the Constitution."

¹ Congress assembles on the first Monday in December; the first, or "long session," usually closes some time in the following summer; the second, or "short session," closes, by law, at noon on March 4. Each Congress exists two years.

Apportionment. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers [which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons].¹ The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; [and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three].²

Vacancies. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority³ thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

Officers; Impeachment. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers;⁴ and shall have the sole power of impeachment.⁵

¹ "Three fifths of all other persons." This clause referred to slaves (see § 196, note 1, paragraph 3). The Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery, and the whole of the clause contained in brackets was superseded by the Fourteenth Amendment.

² The apportionment of 1903 (see Table of Representation in the Appendix) was one representative for every 193,175 persons. The clause in brackets beginning, "and until such enumeration" was a temporary provision.

³ "Executive authority," meaning here the governor of the State.

⁴ "Speaker and other officers." The Speaker is one of the representatives; the "other officers," namely the clerk, sergeant-at-arms, postmaster, doorkeeper, etc., are not representatives. The Speaker is almost always elected by the political party which has a majority in the House, and it is generally understood that he will cast his influence for that party.

Formerly he sometimes availed himself of his right, as a member of the House, to leave his seat for a short time in order to take an active part in the debate of some question of unusual interest. This right he now very seldom exercises.

But he is none the less "the most important figure in Congress," and stands "next in dignity and power to the President."

In certain directions he can control legislation, especially by preventing it. This he does in four ways: (1) as a rule, no member of the House can introduce a bill or speak on any question until the Speaker chooses to recognize him; (2) the Speaker can control legislation by his power of appointment of all committees to which bills or drafts of proposed laws must be referred; (3) he can prevent the discussion of any proposition through his power to state questions and decide points of order; (4) he is chairman of an informal committee which decides what order of business the House shall follow, and therefore what measures shall be brought to the attention of the House.

These four acknowledged powers of the Speaker make him practically the real head of the body which enacts the laws of the nation. The Speaker receives \$12,000 a year.

For an excellent abstract of the Speaker's functions see Boynton's "Civics," pp. 171-173. Consult also Hart's "Speaker as Premier," in his "Essays on American Government," and Bryce's "American Commonwealth," I, pp. 134-137 and 391.

⁵ "Impeachment." The power to charge the President or any of the leading officers of the government with having violated the Constitution or the laws, and to bring them to trial before the Senate, as in the case of President Johnson (see § 366)

SECTION 3. SENATE

Number of Senators ; Election. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years ; and each senator shall have one vote.

Classification. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year ; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year ; of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year ; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive¹ thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

Qualifications. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

President of Senate. The Vice President of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

Officers. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*,² in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

Trials of Impeachment. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments³ : When sitting for that purpose they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside ; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

Judgment in Case of Conviction. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States ; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. BOTH HOUSES

Manner of electing Members. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof ; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.⁴

Meetings of Congress. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meetings shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

¹ "Executive" (see note 3, p. viii).

² "*Pro tempore*." For the time being.

³ "Impeachments" (see note 5, p. viii).

⁴ This is to prevent Congress from fixing the places of meeting of the State legislatures.

SECTION 5. THE HOUSES SEPARATELY

Organization. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum¹ to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Rules. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Journal. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.²

Adjournment. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. PRIVILEGES AND DISABILITIES OF MEMBERS

Pay and Privileges of Members. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation³ for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.

Prohibitions on Members. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. METHOD OF PASSING LAWS

Revenue Bills. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives;⁴ but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

How Bills become Laws; Veto Power of the President. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become

¹ "Quorum." A number competent to transact business.

² Namely, the votes by yeas and nays; the entering of such votes on the journal opposite the names of members fixes the responsibility of each for his vote. Notice that when Congress passes a bill over the President's veto the votes are always determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the members voting are recorded in the journal (see Section 7, Paragraph 2, on the veto power of the President).

³ "Compensation." \$7500 a year and twenty cents for every mile of travel from and to their homes each annual session. There is also an allowance of \$125 for stationery and newspapers.

⁴ This power was conferred on the House because its members are directly elected by the people, from whom, in most cases, the revenue is derived. An immense majority of all

a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively.¹ If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Resolutions, etc. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. POWERS GRANTED TO CONGRESS

Enumerated Powers of Congress. The Congress shall have power:

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post offices and post roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

bills presented in the House are "strangled" in the committees to which they are referred. In one Congress nearly 13,000 bills and joint resolutions were introduced; of these 9632 were never heard of again, and only 1385 became laws. See Hart's "Essays on American Government," p. 9.

¹ See note 2, p. x, on votes by yeas and nays.

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal,¹ and make rules concerning captures on land and water ;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ;

To provide and maintain a navy ;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions ;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States,² and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings ; and

Implied Powers of Congress. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.³

SECTION 9. POWERS FORBIDDEN TO THE UNITED STATES

Absolute Prohibitions on Congress. [The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.]⁴

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus⁵ shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex-post-facto law⁶ shall be passed.

¹ Letters granted by the government to private citizens in time of war authorizing them to capture the enemy's vessels.

² Namely, the District of Columbia.

³ This is the so-called "Elastic Clause" of the Constitution, because it confers upon Congress the right to do whatever may be necessary to carry out the powers vested by the Constitution in the national government. Compare this provision with Article VI, Paragraph 2, on the Supremacy of the Constitution, and with the Tenth Amendment on State Rights.

⁴ "Person," meaning slave. This temporary provision refers to the importation of slaves, which was prohibited by Congress in 1808.

⁵ "Habeas corpus." This writ requires an accused person, who is in prison, to be brought into court in order that it may be determined whether he can be legally held or not.

⁶ "Bill of attainder or ex-post-facto law." An "attainder" was a special act in English law, by which a person could be condemned to death or banished without having the power of defending himself in a court of justice. An "ex-post-facto law" is a law imposing punishment for acts committed before the law was passed.

No capitation¹ or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION 10. POWERS FORBIDDEN TO THE STATES

Absolute Prohibitions on the States. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal;² coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex-post-facto law,³ or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

Conditional Prohibitions on the States. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II. EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION I. PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

Term. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years,⁴ and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

Electors. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and

¹ "Capitation" tax. One levied on each head or person, — a poll tax.

² "Letters of marque and reprisal" (see note 1, p. xii).

³ "Attainder or ex-post-facto law" (see note 6, p. xii).

⁴ The Congress of the Confederacy in 1788 fixed the 4th of March, 1789, for the inauguration of the President, and three years later a law was passed decreeing that the day selected should continue to stand. It has been said that Franklin first suggested the 4th of March, because it was found that for the two ensuing centuries that day would fall on Sunday less often than any other. See the "New Encyclopædia Americana," Vol. VII, article, "Inauguration Day."

representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress:¹ but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

Proceedings of Electors and of Congress. [The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall, in like manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.]²

Time of choosing Electors. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes;³ which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

Qualifications of President. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

Vacancy. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President;⁴ and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

¹ See Table of Representation in Appendix.

² The whole of this paragraph in brackets has been superseded by the Twelfth Amendment.

³ The electors are chosen on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November, preceding the expiration of a Presidential term. They vote (by act of Congress of February 3, 1887) on the second Monday in January, following, for President and Vice President. The votes are counted and declared in Congress on the second Wednesday of the following February.

⁴ See the Presidential Succession Act of 1886 (§ 392).

Salary. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation¹ which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Oath of Office. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

Military Powers ; Reprieves and Pardons. The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments,² upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.³

Treaties ; Appointments. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

Fill Vacancies. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT

The President's Message ; he may convene Congress ; he shall receive Public Ministers, execute the Laws, and commission Officers. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union,⁴ and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

¹ The President receives \$75,000 a year; the Vice President, \$12,000. Previous to 1873 the President received \$25,000 a year; from 1873 to March 4, 1909, he received \$50,000 a year.

² The executive departments are the Departments of State, the Treasury, etc. (see § 200 and § 392, note 1); the heads of these departments are members of the President's cabinet or private council.

³ "Impeachment" (see note 5, p. viii).

⁴ Washington and John Adams read their messages to Congress. Jefferson sent his written message to that body, and his example has ever since been followed.

SECTION 4. IMPEACHMENT

Removal of Officers. The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment¹ for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III. JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. UNITED STATES COURTS

Courts established ; Judges. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.² The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation³ which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. JURISDICTION OF UNITED STATES COURTS

Federal Courts in General. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority ; — to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls ; — to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction ; — to controversies to which the United States shall be a party ; — to controversies between two or more States ; — between a State and citizens of another State ;⁴ — between citizens of different States ; — between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

Supreme Court. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction.⁵ In all other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction,⁶ both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

Trials. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury ; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed ; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

¹ "Impeachment" (see note 5, p. viii).

² Congress has established nine Circuit Courts, and, by an act of 1891, nine Circuit Courts of Appeal, a Court of Claims, and one or more District Courts in each of the States, besides one in Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico.

³ "Compensation." The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States receives a salary of \$13,000, and the associate justices \$12,500 each.

⁴ But compare the Eleventh Amendment.

⁵ "Original jurisdiction," namely exclusive jurisdiction.

⁶ "Appellate jurisdiction," that is, cases may begin in the lower courts, and may be carried by appeal to the Supreme Court.

SECTION 3. TREASON

Treason defined. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

Conviction of Persons accused of Treason. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

Punishment. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder¹ of treason shall work corruption of blood,² or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.³

ARTICLE IV. RELATIONS OF THE STATES TO EACH OTHER

SECTION 1. OFFICIAL ACTS

Rights of State and Records. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. PRIVILEGES OF CITIZENS

Privileges of Citizens of States. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

Fugitives from Justice. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

Fugitive Slaves and Other Fugitives held to Labor. [No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.]⁴

SECTION 3. NEW STATES AND TERRITORIES

Admission of States. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

¹ "Attainder." Punishment. This seems to be the meaning of the word here. See Story's "Commentary on the Constitution," p. 466.

² "Corruption of blood." Under the old English law, since repealed, a person attainted or convicted of treason was disabled from holding, inheriting, or transmitting an estate.

³ As a matter of fact, no person in the United States has ever been put to death for the crime of treason.

⁴ This was the basis of the first Fugitive Slave Law in 1793, and also of the second and last in 1850. This clause has been superseded by the Thirteenth Amendment.

Territory and Property of United States. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. PROTECTION OF THE STATES

Republican Government guaranteed to every State. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V. AMENDMENTS

Amendments, how proposed; how ratified. The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided [that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and] that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.¹

ARTICLE VI. GENERAL PROVISIONS

Public Debt. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.²

Supremacy of the Constitution; Federal Laws; Treaties; State Judges. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.³

Official Oath; Religious Test. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and

¹ The words inclosed in brackets were a temporary provision.

² "The Confederation." The first Constitution of the United States, adopted in 1781, and which was superseded by the present Constitution. There is a second provision respecting the public debt in the Fourteenth Amendment.

³ In the words of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Constitution, while it stands, is "A law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times and under all circumstances" (Judge Cooley's "Principles of Constitutional Law," p. 33).

judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test¹ shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII. RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Ratification. The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

President, and Deputy from Virginia

NEW HAMPSHIRE

JOHN LANGDON
NICHOLAS GILMAN

MASSACHUSETTS

NATHANIEL GORHAM
RUFUS KING

CONNECTICUT

WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON
ROGER SHERMAN

NEW YORK

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

NEW JERSEY

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON
DAVID BREARLEY
WILLIAM PATERSON
JONATHAN DAYTON

PENNSYLVANIA

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
THOMAS MIFFLIN
ROBERT MORRIS
GEORGE CLYMER
THOMAS FITZSIMONS
JARED INGERSOLL
JAMES WILSON
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS

DELAWARE

GEORGE READ
GUNNING BEDFORD, JR.
JOHN DICKINSON
RICHARD BASSETT
JACOB BROOM

MARYLAND

JAMES M'HENRY
DANIEL [OF ST. THOMAS]
JENIFER
DANIEL CARROLL

VIRGINIA

JOHN BLAIR
JAMES MADISON, JR.

NORTH CAROLINA

WILLIAM BLOUNT
RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT
HUGH WILLIAMSON

SOUTH CAROLINA

JOHN RUTLEDGE
CHARLES C. PINCKNEY
CHARLES PINCKNEY
PIERCE BUTLER

GEORGIA

WILLIAM FEW
ABRAHAM BALDWIN

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary

¹ See too the First Amendment, for a second provision respecting religion.

AMENDMENTS

Religion, Speech, Press, Assemblage, Petition. ARTICLE I.¹ Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof;² or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press;³ or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances.

Militia; Right to bear Arms. ARTICLE II. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

The Quartering of Soldiers. ARTICLE III. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Unreasonable Searches. ARTICLE IV. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.⁴

Criminal Prosecutions; Life, Liberty, and Property Safeguarded. ARTICLE V. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Rights of the Accused in Criminal Prosecutions. ARTICLE VI. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an

¹ These amendments were proposed by Congress and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth article of the Constitution. The first ten were offered in 1789 and were adopted before the close of 1791. They were for the most part the work of Madison. They are frequently called the Bill of Rights, as their purpose is to guard more efficiently the rights of the people and of the States.

Since the Constitution went into operation in 1789 between one and two thousand amendments to it have been proposed in Congress, but only the fifteen given here have been accepted and ratified. Of these, the first twelve were ratified before the close of 1804. The remaining three, relating to the negroes or freedmen, were ratified between 1865 and 1870.

² "Religion." These two provisions, though they limit the power of Congress, do not restrict State legislation. Judge Story, in his "Commentaries on the Constitution," says that the real object of this limitation was to "cut off the means of religious persecution (the vice and pest of former ages)."

On the action of Congress respecting the free exercise of religion in the territories, see the "Student's American History," in this series, p. 552, note 1.

³ "Freedom of speech and of the press." On these points Judge Story (see note 2 above) quotes with approval the words of Chancellor Kent of New York, when he said, "Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, *being responsible for the abuse of that right.*"

⁴ This is a prohibition of the use of "general warrants" such as the "Writs of Assistance" (§ 154).

impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

Right of Trial by Jury in Suits at Common Law. ARTICLE VII. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reëxamined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

Excessive Bail and Cruel Punishments Forbidden. ARTICLE VIII. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Reserved Rights and Powers. ARTICLE IX. The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Powers reserved to the States or to the People. ARTICLE X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.¹

Judicial Power of the United States; how construed. ARTICLE XI. The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.²

Method of electing President and Vice President. ARTICLE XII. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate;—the president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the

¹ This very important article secures to the States the full measure of their right to self-government in distinction from the rights guaranteed to the federal government. Judge Story remarks, in his "Commentaries on the Constitution," that the Constitution "Being an instrument of limited and enumerated powers, it follows irresistibly, that what is not conferred, is withheld, and belongs to the State authorities, if invested by their constitutions of government respectively in them; and if not so invested, it is retained by the people, as a part of their residuary sovereignty."

² In 1793 suits were brought in the United States Supreme Court against the States of Georgia and of Massachusetts. These proceedings created great alarm among all the States. Georgia enacted a law punishing with death any United States marshal who should attempt to serve a process upon her. Massachusetts called for the passing of an eleventh amendment to the Constitution which should prohibit suits against a State by citizens of another State or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state. The amendment was adopted in 1798. Under its provisions several States repudiated the payment of debts which they considered essentially unjust and hence not binding upon them.

certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; — the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President, shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum¹ for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.²

Slavery prohibited. ARTICLE XIII. *Section 1.* Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.³

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Who are Citizens of the United States; their Rights. ARTICLE XIV. *Section 1.* All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.⁴

¹ "Quorum." See note 1, p. x.

² According to the provisions of Article II, Section 1 (see matter inclosed in brackets), the electors voting for President and Vice President did not designate the candidates by name, but the person who received "the greatest number of votes, in excess of a majority, was to be President; and the person receiving the next highest number, whether it was a majority or not, was to be Vice President. In the election of 1800 Jefferson, whom the electors desired for President, received the same number of votes as Burr, whom they had meant to elect Vice President." The House (as the Article required) decided the question by choosing Jefferson President. But as a majority of the House were Federalists, while the two candidates for office were Republicans, the struggle was so protracted and so violent that Judge Story says it "threatened a dissolution of the government." This very serious complication led to the adoption of the Twelfth Amendment in 1804, which has ever since been in force.

³ This article, adopted in 1865, not only confirmed the Proclamation of Emancipation of 1863 (§ 340), but extended the principle, therein embodied, to the whole United States.

⁴ This article made the negroes or "freedmen" citizens; it was adopted in 1868. See Rhodes' "United States," V, p. 609; see also Guthrie's "The Fourteenth Amendment," p. 110.

Apportionment of Representatives ; Denial of Right to vote to Adult Male Citizens reduces the Basis of Representation. *Section 2.* Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive or judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.¹

Disability of Certain Persons to hold Office. *Section 3.* No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President or Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.²

Validity of the Public Debt of the United States ; Certain Debts and Claims Void. *Section 4.* The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave ; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Right of Citizens of the United States to Vote. ARTICLE XV. *Section 1.* The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.³

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

¹ The last sentence of Section 2 was superseded by the Fifteenth Amendment.

² Congress, in 1872 and 1898, did remove the disability.

³ Adopted in 1870. The Fourteenth Amendment, though it made the negroes citizens of the United States, did not give them the right to vote, but left the settlement of that question to the Southern States. A few years later the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted. It positively declared that no citizen could be denied that "right" on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." But it did not prohibit the States from disfranchising the negro for other reasons, such as want of education or want of property. Such action has been taken in a number of Southern States, and has practically rendered this amendment of no force so far as the negro vote is concerned (see §§ 366 and 409, and consult Rhodes' "United States," VI, pp. 202-204) ; see also Boutwell's "The Constitution," p. 389.

TABLE OF STATES AND TERRITORIES

No.	NAME OF STATE	DERIVATION OF NAME	DATE OF AD- MIS- SION	BY WHOM SETTLED	FIRST SETTLE- MENT	DATE OF SETTLE- MENT	SQUARE MILES	POPULA- TION IN 1790	POPULA- TION IN 1900
1	DELAWARE	In honor of Lord Delaware	1787	Swedes	Christiania, near Wilmington	1638	2,050	59,996	184,735
2	PENNSYLVANIA . . .	Name given by Charles II, — mean- ing "Penn's woods"	1787	English	Philadelphia . .	1683	45,215	434,373	6,302,115
3	NEW JERSEY	In honor of Sir George Carteret, governor of the British island of Jersey	1787	Dutch	Bergen	1617	7,815	184,139	1,883,669
4	GEORGIA	In honor of George II	1788	English	Savannah	1733	59,475	82,548	2,216,331
5	CONNECTICUT	From the Indian, — "long river"	1788	English	Wethersfield . .	1634?	4,990	238,431	908,355
6	MASSACHUSETTS . .	From the Indian, — "the great hills" — from the Blue Hills near Boston	1788	English	Plymouth	1620	8,315	378,717	2,805,346
7	MARYLAND	In honor of Queen Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I	1788	English	St. Mary's	1634	12,210	319,728	1,190,050
8	SOUTH CAROLINA	In honor of Charles II; derived from <i>Carolus</i> , the Latin for Charles	1788	English	Old Charleston?	1670?	30,570	249,073	1,349,316
9	NEW HAMPSHIRE	Named by John Mason, in remem- brance of Hampshire, Eng- land	1788	English	Dover?	1627?	9,305	141,899	411,588
10	VIRGINIA	In honor of Queen Elizabeth, the "Virgin Queen"	1788	English	Jamestown . . .	1607	42,450	748,308 including W. Va.	1,854,184
11	NEW YORK	In honor of the Duke of York, who became George II	1788	Dutch	Fort Orange (Albany)	1623	49,170	340,120	7,268,012
12	NORTH CAROLINA	In honor of Charles II; derived from <i>Carolus</i> , the Latin for Charles	1789	English	Albemarle	1663?	52,250	393,751	1,893,810
13	RHODE ISLAND . .	Either from a fancied resem- blance of the island of Rhode Island to the Isle of Rhodes in the Mediterranean, or from the Dutch Rood or Red Island	1790	English	Providence . . .	1636	1,250	69,110	428,556

TABLE OF STATES AND TERRITORIES

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TABLE OF STATES AND TERRITORIES (CONTINUED)

No.	NAME OF STATE	DERIVATION OF NAME	DATE OF AD- MIS- SION	BY WHOM SETTLED	FIRST SETTLE- MENT	DATE OF SETTLE- MENT	SQUARE MILES	POPULA- TION IN 1790	POPULA- TION IN 1900
14	Vermont	From the French,—"green moun- tains"	1791	English	Fort Dummer (near Brattle- borough)	1724	9,565	85,416	343,641
15	Kentucky	From the Indian,— "at the head of a river"; or meaning, accord- ing to other authorities, "the dark and bloody ground"	1792	English	Harrodsburg . .	1774	40,400	73,077	2,147,174
16	Tennessee	From the Indian,— "river of the big bend"	1796	English	Watauga	1769	42,050	35,791	2,020,616
17	Ohio	From the Indian,— "beautiful," or "beautiful river"	1803*	Americans	Marietta	1788	41,060	4,157,545	4,157,545
18	Louisiana	From the French,— in honor of Louis XIV of France	1812	French	About 38 miles below New Orleans	1700	48,720	1,381,625	1,381,625
19 20	Indiana Mississippi	From the word "Indian" From the Indian,— "great and long river," or "father of wa- ters"	1816 1817	French French	Vincennes . . . Natchez	1702 1716	36,350 46,810	2,516,462 1,551,270	2,516,462 1,551,270
21	Illinois	From the union of an Indian and a French word,— "tribe of men"	1818	French	Cahokia	1682	56,650	4,821,550	4,821,550
22	Alabama	From the Indian,— "a place of rest"	1819	French	Near Mobile Bay	1702	52,250	1,828,697	1,828,697
23 24	Maine Missouri	"The main land" From the Indian,— "muddy," or "muddy river"	1820 1821	English French	Pemaquid . . . Fort Orleans (near Jeffer- son City)	1625 1719	33,040 69,415	96,540	694,466 3,106,665
25	Arkansas	From the Indian <i>kanzas</i> (smoky water) and the French <i>arc</i> (a bow)	1836	French	Little Rock . .	1690?	53,850	1,311,564	1,311,564

* Recent authorities (see King's "History of Ohio" in The Commonwealth Series, and the article "Ohio" in the Encyclopædia Britannica) give the date of 1803 instead of 1802, the date usually given heretofore.

TABLE OF STATES AND TERRITORIES (CONTINUED)

No.	NAME OF STATE	DERIVATION OF NAME	DATE OF AD- MIS- SION	BY WHOM SETTLED	FIRST SETTLE- MENT	DATE OF SETTLE- MENT	SQUARE MILES	POPULA- TION IN 1790	POPULA- TION IN 1900
26	Michigan	From the Indian,—"a weir or dam of twigs for catching fish"	1837	French	Mackinaw . . .	1680?	58,915	2,420,682	
27	Florida	From the Spanish <i>flascia florida</i> (flowery Easter),—hence "flowery," or "land of flowers"	1845	Spanish	St. Augustine .	1565	58,680	528,542	
28	Texas	Perhaps from an Indian word meaning "friends"	1845	French	Lavaca, on the coast	1685	265,780	3,048,710	
29	Iowa	The French form of an Indian word applied by the Sioux to the Gray-Snow Tribe, and meaning the "drowsy," or the "sleepy ones"	1846	Americans	Dubuque	1833?	56,025	2,231,853	
30	Wisconsin	From the Indian,—"wild or rushing river" (applied to the rapids of the Wisconsin)	1848	French	Green Bay . . .	1669?	56,040	2,069,042	
31	California	From the Spanish,—the name first occurs in a Spanish work of fiction (1510); it was there given to an imaginary island abounding in gold	1850	Spanish	San Diego	1769	158,360	1,485,053	
32	Minnesota	From the Indian,—"cloudy," or "whitish water"	1858	Americans	Fort Snelling . .	1819	83,365	1,751,394	
33	Oregon	Either from the Indian, "river of the West," or from the Spanish, "wild marjoram," which grows there in great abundance	1859	Americans	Astoria	1811	96,030	413,536	
34	Kansas	From the Indian,—"smoky water"	1861	Americans	Atchison? . . .	1854	82,080	1,470,495	
35	West Virginia . . .	From Virginia.	1863	English			24,780	958,800	
36	Nevada	From the Spanish <i>sierra nevada</i> (snowy mountain ridge),—"snowy"	1864	Americans	Genoa, at the base of the Sierras	1850	110,700	42,335	

TABLE OF STATES AND TERRITORIES

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TABLE OF STATES AND TERRITORIES (CONCLUDED)

No.	NAME OF STATE	DERIVATION OF NAME	DATE OF ADMIS- SION	BY WHOM SETTLED	FIRST SETTLE- MENT	DATE OF SETTLE- MENT	SQUARE MILES	POPULA- TION IN 1790	POPULA- TION IN 1900
37	Nebraska	From the Indian, — "water valley," or "shallow river"	1867	Americans	Bellevue (near Omaha)	1847	77,510	1,068,539	
38	Colorado	From the Spanish, — "red," or "colored" (referring to the color of the rocks)	1876	Americans	Denver?	1859?	103,925	539,700	
39	North Dakota . . .	From the Indian, — "leagued," or "allied" (referring to the con- federated league of the Sioux tribes)	1889	English	Pembina	1812	70,795	319,146	
40	South Dakota	From the Indian. (See above)	1889	Americans	Yankton?	1850?	77,650	401,570	
41	Montana	From the Latin " <i>montis</i> " (a moun- tain), — "the land of mountains"	1889	Americans	Helena?	1861?	146,080	243,329	
42	Washington	In honor of George Washington	1889	Americans	Tumwater . . .	1845	69,180	518,103	
43	Idaho	From the Indian, — "diadem of the mountains"	1890	Americans	Pioneer City? .	1862	84,800	161,772	
44	Wyoming	From the Indian, — "great plains"	1890	Americans	Cheyenne	1867	97,800	92,531	
45	Utah	From the Indian, — "mountain home"	1896	Americans	Salt Lake City .	1847	84,970	276,749	
46	Oklahoma	From the Indian, — "beautiful land"	1907	Americans	Guthrie and Ok- lahoma City	1889	70,230	790,291	

Total population in 1790, 3,929,214. Total population in 1880, 50,189,200; in 1890, 62,622,250; in 1900, 76,304,779.
Three territories: (1) New Mexico, (2) Arizona, (3) Alaska; the District of Columbia, the islands of Hawaii, Guam, the Philippines, Porto Rico.

NOTE. Authorities disagree on a number of the dates and places of settlement of states. The Census Report of 1900 makes the area of the *entire* United States 3,690,822 square miles. The area of the territories is as follows: Alaska, 590,884 sq. mi.; New Mexico, 122,460 sq. mi.; Arizona, 112,920 sq. mi.; the District of Columbia, 60 sq. mi. The area of our island possessions is estimated as follows: Guam, 201 sq. mi.; Hawaii, 6,449 sq. mi.; Porto Rico, 3,435 sq. mi.; the Philippines, 119,542 sq. mi.; Samoa, 81 sq. mi. The interrogation point (?) indicates conflict of authorities or lack of positive information.

TABLE OF THE PRESIDENTS

No.	PRESIDENT	STATE	TERM OF OFFICE	BY WHAT PARTY ELECTED	VICE PRESIDENT	SECRETARY OF STATE
1	GEORGE WASHINGTON . . .	Virginia	Two terms, 1789-1797	Whole people . .	John Adams	{ Thomas Jefferson Edmund Randolph Timothy Pickens John Marshall James Madison
2	JOHN ADAMS	Massachusetts . .	One term, 1797-1801	Federalists (But see n. 2, p. 191)	Thomas Jefferson . .	
3	THOMAS JEFFERSON . . .	Virginia	Two terms, 1801-1809	Republicans ¹ or Democratic- Republicans	{ Aaron Burr George Clinton	
4	JAMES MADISON	Virginia	Two terms, 1809-1817	House of Rep. . .	{ Elbridge Gerry Daniel D. Tompkins . .	{ Robert Smith James Monroe John Quincy Adams Henry Clay
5	JAMES MONROE	Virginia	Two terms, 1817-1825		{ John C. Calhoun	
6	JOHN QUINCY ADAMS . .	Massachusetts . .	One term, 1825-1829		{ John C. Calhoun Martin Van Buren . .	
7	ANDREW JACKSON	Tennessee	Two terms, 1829-1837	Democrats		{ Edward Livingston Louis McLane
8	MARTIN VAN BUREN . . .	New York	One term, 1837-1841	Democrats	Richard M. Johnson .	John Forsyth
9	WILLIAM H. HARRISON .	Ohio	One month, 1841	Whigs	John Tyler	Daniel Webster
10	JOHN TYLER	Virginia	3 yr. 11 mo., 1841-1845	Whigs		{ Daniel Webster Hugh S. Legaré Abel P. Upshur
11	JAMES K. POLK	Tennessee	One term, 1845-1849	Democrats	George M. Dallas . .	John C. Calhoun
12	ZACHARY TAYLOR	Louisiana	1 yr. 4 mo., 1849, 1850	Whigs	Millard Fillmore . .	James Buchanan
13	MILLARD FILLMORE . . .	New York	2 yr. 8 mo., 1850-1853	Whigs		{ John M. Clayton Daniel Webster
14	FRANKLIN PIERCE	N. Hampshire . .	One term, 1853-1857	Democrats	William R. King . . .	{ Edward Everett William L. Marcy
15	JAMES BUCHANAN	Pennsylvania . . .	One term, 1857-1861	Democrats	J. C. Breckinridge . .	{ Lewis Cass Jeremiah S. Black

¹ The Republican party then was entirely different from the party, of the same name, which elected Lincoln, etc.

TABLE OF THE PRESIDENTS (CONTINUED)

No.	PRESIDENT	STATE	TERM OF OFFICE	BY WHAT PARTY ELECTED	VICE PRESIDENT	SECRETARY OF STATE
16	ABRAHAM LINCOLN . . .	Illinois	1 term and 6 weeks, 1861-1865	Republicans . . .	{ Hannibal Hamlin . . .	William H. Seward
17	ANDREW JOHNSON	Tennessee	3 yr. 10½ mo., 1865-1869 . . .	Republicans . . .	{ Andrew Johnson . . .	William H. Seward
18	ULYSSES S. GRANT	Illinois	Two terms, 1869-1877	Republicans . . .	{ Schuyler Colfax . . .	{ Elihu B. Washburne
19	RUTHERFORD B. HAVES . .	Ohio	One term, 1877-1881	Republicans . . .	{ Henry Wilson	{ Hamilton Fish
20	JAMES A. GARFIELD	Ohio	6 mo. 15 da., 1881	Republicans . . .	William A. Wheeler . .	William M. Evarts
21	CHESTER A. ARTHUR	New York	3 yr. 5 mo. 15 da., 1881-1885 . .	Republicans . . .	Chester A. Arthur . . .	James G. Blaine
22	GROVER CLEVELAND	New York	One term, 1885-1889	Democrats . . .	Thomas A. Hendricks . .	F. T. Frelinghuysen
23	BENJAMIN HARRISON	Indiana	One term, 1889-1893	Republicans . . .	Levi P. Morton	{ Thomas F. Bayard
24	GROVER CLEVELAND	New York	One term, 1893-1897	Democrats . . .	Adlai E. Stevenson . .	{ James G. Blaine
25	WILLIAM MCKINLEY	Ohio	1 term and 6 mo. 10 da., 1897-'01	Republicans . . .	{ Garret A. Hobart . . .	{ John W. Foster
26	THEODORE ROOSEVELT . . .	New York	3 yr. 5 mo. 20 da., 1901-1905 . .	Republicans . . .	{ Theodore Roosevelt . .	{ Walter O. Gresham
27	THEODORE ROOSEVELT . . .	New York	One term, 1905-1909	Republicans . . .	Charles W. Fairbanks . .	{ Richard Olney
28	WILLIAM H. TAFT	Ohio	1909-	Republicans . . .	James S. Sherman . . .	{ John Sherman
					James S. Sherman . . .	{ William R. Day
						{ John Hay
						{ John Hay
						{ Elihu Root
						Philander C. Knox

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¹ This is a selection of Documents from Macdonald's first three volumes.

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Wilson's Division and Reunion

Brown's The United States since the Civil War, 2 vols.

Burgess' Reconstruction

McPherson's Political History of Reconstruction

Barnes' History of the 39th Congress

Chadsey's Struggle between President Johnson and Congress (Columbia University Studies, 1896)

Scott's Reconstruction

Bryce's American Commonwealth, 2 vols. (revised edition)

Life and Works of Henry W. Grady

Blaine's Twenty Years of Congress, 2 vols.

Hoar's Autobiography

Johnston's American Politics

Pike's Prostrate State (South Carolina)

McPherson's Political Handbooks (1870-1894)

Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia (1876-1902)

Bancroft's Pacific States, 34 vols.

Thayer's New West

McClure's The South

Washington's Up from Slavery

Williams' Negro Race in America, 2 vols.

Whitney's United States

Shaler's United States, 2 vols.

King's The New South

Curry's The South

Badeau's Grant in Peace

Stoddard's Life of Garfield

Wilson's Presidents (1789-1893)

Andrews' The United States in Our Time

Whittle's Life of Cleveland

Morris' War with Spain

Harper's War with Spain, 3 vols.

McKinley's Messages to Congress

Roosevelt's Messages to Congress

Latané's America as a World Power

Coolidge's United States as a World Power

* Books so marked are in progress.

§ Contemporaneous or Early History.

¹ Many valuable articles relating to this period may be found in *The Century*, *The Atlantic*, *Scribner's Magazine*, *McClure's Magazine*, *Harper's Magazine*, *The Outlook*, *The American Review of Reviews*, *The World's Work*, and *The Nation*. For a general index to these articles consult Poole's Index.

TABLE OF BOUNDARIES OF THE UNITED STATES

(The student of American history should bear in mind that the political boundaries of the United States have been determined to a very large degree by the natural boundaries of (1) coast lines; (2) rivers and lakes; (3) watersheds; (4) mountain ranges.)

I. (1783) By the final treaty of peace of 1783 the boundary of the American Republic (see "Map of U. S. in 1783") was fixed, in general terms, as follows: The line separating the United States from the British possessions began at the Bay of Fundy and ran to "the northwest angle of Nova Scotia," thence "to the Highlands," and thence "along the said Highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean." Thence the line ran westerly along the 45th parallel, the middle of the St. Lawrence, and the middle of the Great Lakes to the Lake of the Woods. On the west the line separating the United States from the Spanish province of Louisiana was drawn from the Lake of the Woods to the head waters of the Mississippi and thence down the middle of that river to the 31st parallel, or the frontier of the Spanish province of West Florida. On the south the line extended due east from the Mississippi along the 31st parallel to the Chattahoochee River in Georgia, and thence to the sea, as shown on the map. (See "U. S. Statutes at Large," VII, 80; Macdonald's "Select Documents of U. S. History"; Winsor's "America," VII; Gannett's "Boundaries of the U. S."; Hinsdale's "Bounding the Original U. S." in *Mag. of Western History*, II, 401; Hart's "Epoch Maps of American History.")

Much of the region through which the northern boundary ran was an unexplored wilderness and the line was largely pure guesswork. This was the case west of Lake Superior, and notably so in the northeast, between what is now the state of Maine and the British possessions. The result was that for nearly sixty years this northeast line was a subject of angry dispute, and the controversy was not finally settled until the negotiation of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842. (See Winsor's "America," VII, 493; and Benton's "Thirty Years in the U. S. Senate," II, 421.)

II. (1795) Spain refused to recognize the southern boundary of the United States as determined by the treaty of peace of 1783. (See above, No. I.) She claimed that her province of West Florida extended 110 miles north of the 31st parallel, and that the true boundary line, separating her possessions in that quarter from the United States, extended due east from the Mississippi from the mouth of the Yazoo to the Chattahoochee River in Georgia.

In 1795 Spain relinquished her claim to the disputed territory, and, furthermore, granted to the United States the free navigation of the lower

Mississippi, besides conceding the temporary right of deposit (or storage for merchandise) at the port of New Orleans. (See "U. S. Statutes at Large," VIII, and Winsor and Hinsdale, as above.)

- III. (1803) In 1803 the United States purchased the province of Louisiana, which Spain had re-ceded to France. That immense territory extended from the mouth of the Mississippi northward to its source, and had the Rocky Mountains as its natural boundary on the west. We bought the country without receiving any definite limits, and hence further negotiations became necessary with respect to boundary lines. (See below.)
- IV. (1818) In consequence of the above purchase of Louisiana a treaty made by us with Great Britain in 1818 extended the northern line of the United States from the Lake of the Woods (see above, No. I) westward along the 49th parallel to the Rocky Mountains. The same treaty provided that the country west of the Rocky Mountains, north of the 42d parallel (or the recognized Spanish frontier), and known as the Oregon country, should be held jointly by the United States and Great Britain.
- V. (1819-1825) In 1819 Spain sold Florida to us, and in the treaty defined the unsettled western boundary of Louisiana (see above, Nos. III and IV) by an irregular line which began at the Gulf of Mexico and approximately followed the watershed south and west of the tributaries of the Mississippi to the 42d parallel. At the same time Spain agreed to renounce all claims to the Oregon country. This was to us a most important concession. Six years later (1825) a treaty made with Russia fixed the northern limit of the Oregon country (before unsettled) at 54° 40', or what is now the southern boundary of Alaska.
- VI. (1842) In 1842 the Webster-Ashburton Treaty (see Index under "Treaty") settled the long dispute over the northeastern boundary (see above, No. I) and reaffirmed the line of 1818 to the Rocky Mountains. (See above, No. IV.)
- VII. (1845) In 1845 we annexed Texas; the boundary question was settled by the Mexican War.
- VIII. (1846) In 1846 a treaty made by us with Great Britain divided the Oregon country between the two nations by extending the boundary line of the 49th parallel (see above, No. IV) from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific. (See, in general, the "Map of Acquisitions of Territory.")
- IX. (1848-1867) All subsequent United States boundary lines on the continent (see map cited above) were determined by Mexican cessions in 1848, the Gadsden Purchase in 1853, and the Alaska Purchase in 1867.
- X. (1898-1899) The islands recently acquired by the United States present no difficulties respecting boundaries.

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT EACH CENSUS

YEAR	POPULATION	POPULATION LIVING IN CITIES	INHABITANTS OF CITIES ¹ IN EACH 100 OF THE TOTAL POPULATION
1790	3,929,214	131,472	3.35
1800	5,308,483	210,873	3.97
1810	7,239,881	356,920	4.93
1820	9,633,822	475,135	4.93
1830	12,866,020	1,864,509	6.72
1840	17,069,453	1,453,994	8.52
1850	23,191,876	2,897,586	12.49
1860	31,443,321	5,072,256	16.13
1870	38,558,371	8,071,875	20.93
1880	50,155,783	11,318,547	22.57
1890	62,622,250	18,284,385	29.20
1900	76,304,799	24,992,199	33.10

¹ Places having a population of 8000 and over have usually been classed as cities, but the census of 1900 includes places of 2500 inhabitants and upwards as cities.

POPULATION OF THE FREE AND THE SLAVE STATES,
1790-1860

YEAR	FREE STATES	SLAVE STATES (including Negroes)
1790	1,968,455	1,961,372
1800	2,684,616	2,621,316
1810	3,758,910	3,480,902
1820	5,152,372	4,485,819
1830	7,006,399	5,848,312
1840	9,733,922	7,334,433
1850	13,599,488	9,663,997
1860	19,128,418	12,315,372

REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS FROM 1790 TO 1903

YEAR	SENATE		HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES		RATIO OF REPRESENTATION ¹
	Free States	Slave States	Free States	Slave States	
1790	14	12	35	30	30,000
1793	16	14	57	48	33,000
1796	16	16	57	49	33,000
1803	18	16	76	65	33,000
1813	18	18	103	78	35,000
1816	20	18	103	78	35,000
1821	24	24	105	81	35,000
1823	24	24	123	90	40,000
1833	24	24	141	99	47,700
1837	26	26	142	100	47,700
1843	26	26	135	88	70,680
1848	30	30	140	91	70,680
1853	32	30	144	90	93,423
1860	36	30	147	90	93,423
1863	72		243		127,381
1873	76		293		131,425
1883	76		325		151,911
1893	88		356		173,901
1903	90		386		193,175

¹ The number of representatives is fixed by Congress every ten years (Constitution, Art. I, sect. 2). By the last act (1902) it was provided that there should be one representative for every 193,175 persons; this will hold good until 1913. To find the electoral vote, add together the number of senators and representatives; e.g. the electoral vote in 1790 was 91.

QUESTIONS

[It is believed that in many cases the headings to the sections throughout the book (e.g. §§ 1-5, etc.) will answer the purpose of questions, but where greater detail is desired the questions here given are intended to supply the want.]

I. The Discovery and Naming of America (1492-1522)

Pages 1-4. When and where was Columbus born? What was then thought about the earth? What countries were then shown on the maps? What was the Atlantic called? Why? What countries were known as the Indies? Who were the Northmen? What did they discover in the year 850? What land did Leif Ericson discover about the year 1000? Is it known where Vineland was? Did the discovery of America by Leif Ericson have any practical result? Why not? Is it probable that Columbus ever learned anything about America from the Northmen? What land did Columbus wish to reach? What can you say about Marco Polo? What was the first reason Columbus had for desiring to go to the Indies? What was his second reason? How was trade with the Indies then carried on? How was that trade broken up?

Pages 4-10. What did the Portuguese attempt to do? What did Diaz accomplish? What plan had Columbus for reaching the Indies? What were his four reasons for his undertaking? Did he make any mistakes in his geography? Was it fortunate that he made these mistakes? Why? From whom did Columbus seek help? What did people generally think of him? What help did he finally receive? When did he sail? From what port? How many vessels did he have? What route did he take? Where did he stop on the way? How did the sailors feel about leaving the Canaries? How was Columbus equipped for the great voyage? What did he believe about it? What is said of the voyage? variation of the compass? feeling of the crew? When and why did Columbus change his course?

Pages 10-15. When and where did Columbus land? What land did he believe it was? What did he call the natives? Why? Did Columbus ever find out his mistake about America? Did he ever see any part of the mainland of what is now the United States? When Columbus returned to Spain, how was he received? Of what countries did he speak in his letter to the King and Queen? How did the Pope divide the world? Why did he divide it? Was Spain satisfied with the discoveries of Columbus? Why not? What nickname did the rabble give him? What did they say about him? What did the governor of Haiti do to Columbus in 1500? How many voyages did Columbus make to America? (See note 2, page 10.) Where and how did he die? Where was he buried? (See note 1, page 14.) Where are his remains now? (See note 1, page 14.) Did Columbus fail in anything? What did he accomplish?

Pages 15-16. Who discovered the *continent* of North America? Where? When? Did England gain anything by that discovery? What did Burke say about it?

Pages 16-18. Who was Amerigo Vespucci and what did he do? What did he write? How did America get its name? What year was that? When did the name *America* first appear on a map? (See note 1, page 19.)

Pages 18-19. What did people mean when they spoke of the "New World"? What did most people think it was? Who first discovered America to be a new and distinct continent, — a real *New World*? How and when did he make that discovery? What motto was on the coat of arms given to Magellan? Was Europe pleased with that discovery? What was Europe still bent on doing? What did most explorers continue to do for more than a hundred years? What voyages are mentioned in the Summary on page 19?

II. Attempts at Exploring and Colonizing America (1509-1600)

Pages 20-21. Who was Ponce de Leon? What did he discover? What name did he give the country? Why did he so name it?

Pages 21-22. What great body of water did Balboa discover in 1513? What did he call it? What did Magellan name it afterward? What country did Cortez conquer? What did he want the King of Spain to do about the Isthmus of Panama? What did the King of France do about America? What great river did Cartier discover?

Pages 23-25. Give an account of De Soto's exploring expedition. What great river did he discover in 1541? Where was he buried? Give an account of Coronado's expedition. What canyon did he discover? How far east did he get? What animals did he see and hunt?

Pages 25-27. Who were the Huguenots? Where did they attempt to plant colonies? What did the King of Spain resolve to do? What did Menendez do in Florida? What city did he begin to build in 1565? Who was De Gourgues? What did he do in Florida?

Pages 27-28. What is said about the English exploration of America? What did Sir Martin Frobisher try to do? What country did Sir Humphrey Gilbert take possession of? Who was Sir Francis Drake? What great voyage did he make in 1577-1580? Where did he land in America? What did he hope to discover? How far north did he go? What country did he take possession of for England?

Pages 28-30. What did Queen Elizabeth do for Sir Walter Raleigh? What did Raleigh think about America? What expedition did he send out to America? What island did the explorers reach? What name did Queen Elizabeth give to the "Good Land"? What did Raleigh do the next year? How long did the emigrants stay in Virginia? What "root" did they carry back to England? What weed did they carry back? What did Queen Elizabeth say about it? Give an account of Raleigh's second colony. Was the colony a success? What did Raleigh say? How is Sir Walter Raleigh regarded?

Pages 30-32. What white settlers were there in America in 1600? In 1600 what flag seemed destined to wave over the whole American continent? What did the explorers of America find it to be? In what two ways is America superior to Europe? What is said about the natural wealth of our country? What did Gladstone say about America? (See also pages 42-43 on the physical geography of America in relation to history.) What did America offer to those who were disappointed with the Old World?

THE AMERICAN INDIANS

Pages 32-38. What is said about the number of Indians east of the Mississippi? Did they have any roads? any farms? any cities or towns? How did America seem to them? What is said of the Algonquins and the Iroquois? Describe the appearance of the Indians. What was the "scalp lock"? How did the Indians live? What did the men do? What did the women do? What three things did the Indians invent? What is said of Indian government? What was a "wampum" belt made of? What was it sometimes used for? What did the treaty belt given to William Penn represent? When the Indians held a council, why was a "wampum" belt made? The beads of "wampum" strings had another use; what was it? Did the Indian have as much liberty as the white man? Mention some things the Indian could not do. What was a "totem"? Mention some of its uses. What was the Indian's religious belief? What did the Indian think about stealing and lying? What would Indian boys do to show that they despised pain? Why did the Indians torture captives? What did they always respect? Tell the story of General Stark's running the gantlet. What can you say about the Indian and the white man? What was the Indian's school? What did the Indian teach the white man? Mention an instance in which the Indians and the white men agreed to help each other fight. What good effect did wars with the Indians have on the English colonists?

EFFECTS OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA ON EUROPE

Pages 38-40. What effect did the discovery of America have on geographical knowledge? What change had to be made in the map of the world? What effect did the discovery of America have on European enterprise? on gold and silver? on trade and navigation? What new products were obtained from America? What luxuries? What effect did the discovery of America have on sugar, cotton, rice, and coffee? What effect did it have on men's minds? What did it make everybody feel about America? What effect did that feeling have? What is said in the Summary about the three classes of discoveries and explorations of this period? What white men held America in 1600?

On the physical geography of the United States in its relation to history, see pages 42-43.

III. Permanent English and French Settlements made in America (1607)

1. VIRGINIA, 1607

Pages 41-48. Why did many English wish to go to Virginia? How large was Virginia? What power did the charter granted by the King give to the London Company? What to the Plymouth Company? What was a charter? (See note 2, page 20.) What did the companies hope to find? How were the colonies to be governed? What was the most important article in the Virginia charter? What four instructions did the King give? When the London Company's emigrants sailed, who went with them? Where did the colonists settle in 1607? What did they name the place? Could they vote or make laws in their new home? Did they come into possession of any land? Did they own what they produced? How did they live? What happened to many of them that summer? What ocean did they set out to find? What happened to Captain Smith? What is said about Pocahontas? What kind of "gold" did they find? What is said about Champlain? Why did Captain Smith go back to England? What happened after he left? What did the colonists resolve to do? Did they go? Why not? How did Governor Dale preserve order? What did he do if a man refused to go to church? What did Governor Dale give to every settler? What effect did that gift have?

Pages 48-52. What is said about raising tobacco? What four effects did the cultivation of tobacco have? Did the Virginia colonists have many towns or schools or printing presses? What great event occurred in 1619? What did the choosing of this Assembly give to every colonist? What is said about women's coming to Virginia?

Pages 52-58. When did negro slavery begin in Virginia? How did people then feel about slavery? What is said about white "apprentices"? What class of people did the King and the English judges send to Virginia? What did the King do about the charter? What is said of Sir William Berkeley? What is said of the Puritans and of the Cavaliers? What about the civil war in England? To what country did many Cavaliers emigrate? Why? Why did Governor Berkeley retire from office? Mention two eminent Virginians who descended from Cavalier emigrants. When Governor Berkeley became governor again, what did he do? Why did England pass Navigation Laws? What effect did these laws have in America? What action did King Charles II take about Virginia? When the Indians began killing the colonists, what did Nathaniel Bacon do? What about the "White Apron Brigade"? What did Bacon do to Jamestown? How did Governor Berkeley punish some of the "rebels"? What happened at Williamsburg, Virginia, just a century after the "Bacon Laws" were passed?

2. NEW NETHERLAND, OR NEW YORK

Pages 58-64. Describe Henry Hudson's expedition. Who took possession of the country on the Hudson River? What did they name it? Why were the English and the French jealous of New Netherland? What island did Peter Minuit buy from the Indians in 1626? What did he pay for it? What is that land worth to-day? What did the Dutch call their settlement on that island? Who were the Patroons? What is said of the estate of a patroon named Van Rensselaer? What can you say about Peter Stuyvesant? How did he defend the "city" of New Amsterdam? What did that palisade mark? What did the Dutch predict about that "city"? Why did the English claim New Netherland? What happened in 1664? What names were changed? Why?

3. NEW JERSEY

Pages 64-66. Who first claimed the country between the Hudson and the Delaware? What did the English declare? What did the Duke of York do with the country? How did it get the name of New Jersey? Who finally bought New Jersey? With what people did the Friends, or Quakers, make a treaty? When the Indians found an Englishman asleep, what would they say? What kind of government did the Friends grant to the colonists? How was New Jersey ruled from 1738 to the Revolution?

4. MASSACHUSETTS (PLYMOUTH COLONY)

Pages 66-71. What is said about the lack of religious liberty in England in 1607? What three classes of Englishmen objected to paying taxes to support the Church of England? Why did the Separatists, or Pilgrims, go to Holland? Why did they resolve to leave Holland and go to America? To what part of America did they wish to go? Who helped them to

go, and on what hard conditions? In what vessel did they sail from England? What is said of Captain Myles Standish? Why did they stop at Cape Cod? What compact or agreement did they make in Provincetown harbor? Whom did they elect for their first governor? Where did the Pilgrims finally land on December 21, 1620? What is said of their first winter at Plymouth? What governor succeeded Governor Carver? How did the Pilgrims decide all important questions and make their laws? With what chief did they make a treaty? What is said about Canonicus and Governor Bradford? What is said of Myles Standish and the Indians? How did the Pilgrims free themselves from the English merchants or speculators? What did the Pilgrims do for a living? To what larger colony was Plymouth finally joined? What was it that made the Pilgrims great? What is better than success?

4. MASSACHUSETTS (MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY)

Pages 72-73. What is said of Governor Endicott? Why did he cut the cross out of the English flag? When did the great Puritan emigration take place? Who was appointed governor of the colony? What did the colonists name the place where they settled in 1630? Why? What is said of the colonists who came over? How was Massachusetts governed? What did the people do in town meeting? What did Thomas Jefferson say about the New England town meetings? Who could vote in Massachusetts? How did the people live? What commerce was carried on with the West Indies?

Pages 74-76. Who was Roger Williams? Why did he leave Massachusetts? With what chief did he take refuge? What city did he begin to build in the following spring? What is said about Mrs. Anne Hutchinson? What about the Baptists? What did the colonists do in regard to schools? How did Harvard University originate? What work did the Rev. John Eliot undertake? What was the New England Confederation? What were its two chief objects? How did the remembrance of the Confederation help the colonists?

Pages 77-81. Describe the coming of the Friends, or Quakers. What did the Quakers believe? What did they refuse to do? What effect did the treatment the Quakers had received in England have on them? What did the Puritans of Massachusetts do to the Quakers? Give an account of King Philip's War. What is said about the Salem witchcraft? Why did King Charles II take away the charter of Massachusetts? Who was the first royal governor of the colony? What did the people do to him? What is said about the new charter which the colony received from King William III?

5. NEW HAMPSHIRE

Pages 81-83. What was the territory called which was granted to Gorges and Mason? Where was the first permanent settlement made in it? How did Gorges and Mason divide the territory? What name did Mason give to his part? What was the region west of the Connecticut called? What settlements were made in Maine? What colony and state held control of Maine from 1652 to 1820? What is said about Londonderry, New Hampshire? What very noted man was born in a New Hampshire log cabin? Why did New Hampshire join Massachusetts? What kind of province did it finally become?

6. CONNECTICUT

Pages 84-88. What people first tried to get possession of the Connecticut valley? What two towns were built by emigrants from the vicinity of Boston? Who built a fort at Saybrook, at the mouth of the Connecticut? What effect did it have? Describe the emigration of the Rev. Thomas Hooker of Cambridge, Massachusetts, to Hartford. What is said about the war with the Pequots? Give an account of the Connecticut constitution. What was there remarkable about it? Did it impose any restriction on voting? Of what was it the parent? Give some account of the colony of New Haven. What kind of government did it establish? Who were the "regicides"? What is said about Whalley and Goffe? What did Charles II's charter do for Connecticut? Describe how Governor Andros tried to take away that famous charter.

7. MARYLAND

Pages 89-93. Who were the Catholic Pilgrims, and why did they come to America? To whom did the King make a grant of land? What name did it receive? Where in Maryland did the Catholic Pilgrims settle? What is said about the first English Catholic Church in

America? What did Lord Baltimore do for the colonists? What is said about their freedom of worship? What about the Toleration Act of 1649? What people sought refuge in Maryland? What is said about the Clayborne and Ingle rebellion? What was done later about the Toleration Act? What did the Assembly declare concerning Lord Baltimore? Were those rights restored? Was freedom of worship restored? What happened when William and Mary came to the throne? What city was founded in 1729? What is said about Mason and Dixon's Line? Why did it become famous?

8. RHODE ISLAND

Pages 93-96. Where did Roger Williams go when he fled from Massachusetts? Where did he and his companions finally build homes for themselves? What name did he give to the place? What church did he, with others, found there? How does Providence rank to-day? What liberty did the colony of Providence grant to every one? What great American principle did he first put in practice? What does the Constitution of the United States say about religion? What is said of the charter which Williams obtained in England? Did Rhode Island remain true to the principle of "soul liberty"? Was there any restriction put on the power to vote? Did the colony ever restrict full freedom of worship to any one? How about fighting for independence?

9. NEW SWEDEN, OR DELAWARE

Pages 96-97. Where did the Swedes begin a New Sweden? What did the Dutch claim? What did Governor Stuyvesant of New Amsterdam do? What did the English Duke of York do about ten years later? To whom did he sell the country? What name did William Penn give to it? What action did "The Territories," or Delaware, take in 1776? What did Delaware do in 1787? What state first entered the American Union?

10-11. NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA

Pages 97-101. What grant did Charles II make to Lord Clarendon and his associates? What name was given to the territory? How large was the territory? What were the first settlements made in it? What city was founded in 1680? Who were the Huguenots? Why did they go to Carolina? What is said about them? Name two distinguished men who descended from the Huguenots. What was the "Grand Model"? What did this constitution establish? What was the condition of the common people under this constitution? What did the people resolve to do? Did they succeed? How was the colony of Carolina divided in 1712? How were North and South Carolina governed? What did North Carolina produce? What is said about the introduction of rice into South Carolina? Who first began to raise indigo in South Carolina? What was the result? After the Revolution what did the people find was more profitable? What did Josiah Quincy say about Charleston in 1773?

12. PENNSYLVANIA

Pages 101-105. Charles II owed William Penn a large sum of money; how did he pay the debt? What name did the King give to the territory? What people desired to emigrate to Pennsylvania? What was the basis on which Penn resolved to establish a "free colony"? What did the King think about Penn's plan? Did Penn agree with him? Where did Penn and his Quakers land? Describe the ceremony of his taking possession of his vast estate. What city did he found in 1682? What Bible name did he give to it? What is said about Philadelphia? What did Penn and the people enact at Chester? What twofold foundation did that "Great Law" have? What did Penn say about liberty? What did he say about obedience? What did the "Great Law" say about the worship of God? What about the right to vote? What about children learning a trade or occupation? What about the death penalty? What about prisons? Give an account of Penn's treaty with the Indians. Was that treaty ever broken? What is said about the wampum belt? What is said about Philadelphia at the beginning of the Revolution? What body of men met there in 1774? What was declared there in 1776? What was framed there in 1787? Where was the capital of the United States from 1790-1800?

13. GEORGIA

Pages 106-108. What did General James Oglethorpe, with others, obtain from the King? What was the new colony called? Why? How far did the territory extend? What three things did the founders of Georgia wish to do? What town did the first emigrants build? What did they hope to produce? In the end what was found more profitable? What did the founders of Georgia forbid the people to buy? What effect did the prohibition have? Why were the colonists discontented? What kind of government did the founders of Georgia establish? In what condition did this keep the great body of the people? What is said about liberty of worship? What about the ownership of land? What is said of John and Charles Wesley? What of the Rev. George Whitefield? How did John Wesley feel about negro slavery? How did Whitefield feel about it? What was finally done about the purchase of slaves, the importation of rum, and the land laws? What was the result? What did the colony do with regard to attacks by the Spaniards? What did Georgia become in 1752? What is said about the natural wealth of Georgia?

THE FRENCH EXPLORATION OF THE WEST

Pages 109-114. Who were the first explorers of the West? Where did the Catholic missionaries plant missions among the Indians? Who was Joliet? Who was Father Marquette? Describe their journey to the Mississippi. How far did they descend on that river? Describe their coming back. Who was La Salle? Describe his great journey. What did he do when he reached the Gulf of Mexico in 1682? What name did he give to the vast territory? What did John Law try to do in Louisiana? What colony did Iberville establish? What city did Bienville found in 1718? What part of America did the English hold? What did the French hold? Where did La Salle build forts? Why?

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS (1689-1763)

Pages 114-117. Why did war break out in 1689 between the English and the French colonists? How long did the war really last? In the first or "King William's War" what village did the French and Canadian Indians destroy? What happened to the Indians who carried off Mrs. Dustin of Haverhill? What fort did Sir William Phips capture? In the second or "Queen Anne's War" what town did the French and Indians burn? What country did the New Englanders conquer? In the third or "King George's War" what remarkable victory did the New Englanders gain? Describe how they gained it. What two results did the taking of Louisburg have? What was the fourth or "French and Indian War" fought to decide? What forts had the French built?

Pages 117-120. Why did Virginian colonists form the Ohio Company? What new forts did the French begin to build? Why? Where was the "Gateway of the West"? What young man did the Governor of Virginia send as a messenger to the French? Why? What results did that expedition have? Who built Fort Duquesne? Where? What fort did Washington begin to build? Did he hold it? Describe the Albany Convention of 1754. What was Franklin's snake? Why was not his plan of union adopted? Why were the authorities in England opposed to any union of the American colonies?

Pages 120-124. Give an account of Braddock's expedition against Fort Duquesne. What was said in Virginia about the defeat? What did a clergyman say about Washington? Why did the English drive the Acadians into exile? What is said of William Pitt? What is said about Fort Duquesne? What is it called to-day? Describe the great victory which General Wolfe gained in 1759. What did Wolfe say when he was dying? What did Montcalm say? What did Pontiac, the Indian chief, undertake to do? What result did Wolfe's great victory have on France? What did the treaty of peace of 1762 give to England? Over how much of America did the English flag float in 1763? Why was England willing that Spain should hold the great province of Louisiana? What river now became the western boundary of the American colonies? What four results did the four English and French wars have on the American colonies?

GENERAL STATE OF THE COUNTRY IN 1763

Pages 124-129. How large was the population of the American colonies in 1763? What proportion was slaves? How were these slaves distributed? Of what race was the majority of the colonists? What were the four chief cities? What is said about foreign trade? How

did England feel about American manufactures? What is said of the Navigation Laws? What bounties did England pay? What did England buy from the colonists? What is said about smuggling? How were the colonies governed? What is said of the colonial legislative assemblies? What about trial by jury and protection by the common law? What motto was on a flag adopted in 1773? Give some account of life among the farmers. Give some account of life in the cities.

Pages 129-132. What is said about travel—the "Flying Machine"? What about postage? What about the hospitality of rich planters to travelers? What about the stocks, the pillory, and other punishments? What is said about education? What is said about the Rev. Jonathan Edwards? What was Benjamin Franklin's best known work? Can you repeat any of "Poor Richard's" sayings? Describe Franklin's electrical experiments. What did Franklin say about electricity? Was he right or wrong?

IV. The Revolution; the Constitution (1763-1789)

Pages 134-141. What is said about American commerce in 1763? What did King George III resolve to do? What is said about the King? How did he interfere with American commerce? What were "Writs of Assistance"? How were they used in Boston? Why did the King propose to tax the colonists? Why did they object? Give some account of the Stamp Act of 1765. What did the "Stamp Act Congress" declare? When was the Stamp Act repealed? What was the Declaratory Act? What was the "Boston Massacre"? Give an account of the Townshend Acts of 1767. What did Samuel Adams, with others, resolve to do? What change in the Townshend taxes did Parliament make? Give an account of what the colonists did with the taxed tea. Describe the "Boston Tea Party." What action did Parliament take with regard to Massachusetts? What did Patrick Henry say about it? What did the "Committees of Correspondence" do? When and where did the First Continental Congress meet? Did they ask for representation in Parliament? Why not? What three things did they do? What action did Massachusetts take? What did a South Carolina paper say about the spirit of liberty? Who were the Tories? What was done to them?

1. FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION IN 1775 TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, 1776

Pages 142-152. Describe the British expedition to Lexington and Concord. What happened the morning after the retreat of the British to Boston? When and where did the Second Continental Congress meet? What three things did it do? From this time until 1781 what body governed the colonies? Give an account of Ethan Allen at Ticonderoga. Describe the battle of Bunker Hill. Who now took command of the American army at Cambridge? How large was that army? Give an account of the expedition against Quebec. Describe Arnold's progress through the forests of Maine. How did Washington drive the British out of Boston? What is said of Fort Sullivan or Moultrie? For what had the Americans been fighting up to 1776? What did Washington say about independence? What did Paine declare in his "Common Sense"? Did the English people want to fight the Americans? What troops did the King hire to fight for him? Had the Americans sought separation from Great Britain? Give an account of the Declaration of Independence.

2. THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, FROM JULY 4, 1776, TO THE VICTORY OF SARATOGA, 1777

Pages 153-161. What did the British hope to do at New York? What is said of our navy? How did Washington prepare to meet the British? How did the British army and the American compare in numbers? Describe the battle of Long Island and Washington's retreat. What about Nathan Hale? What forts did Washington lose? What is said about General Charles Lee? Describe Washington's retreat across the Delaware. What did Washington do on Christmas night, 1776? What did Robert Morris do for him on New Year's morning, 1777? How did Washington outwit Cornwallis? What noted foreigners joined the American army? Describe Burgoyne's expedition, with the battles of Oriskany and Bennington. Describe Howe's expedition to Philadelphia. Where did Washington go with his army after he was repulsed at Germantown? What great victory, known as "the turning point in the Revolution," did the Americans gain near Saratoga in 1777? What officers really won

that battle? What about the Stars and Stripes? What two important results did the victory at Saratoga have? What treaty did Benjamin Franklin make with France in 1778? What is said of Franklin and Washington in the Revolution?

3. FROM THE TREATY WITH FRANCE TO THE END OF THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE (1778-1783)

Pages 161-170. What is said of Washington at Valley Forge? What did England offer us in 1778? Why? What made the British abandon Philadelphia? Describe the battle of Monmouth, and speak of General Lee's disgrace. What did the Indians do at Wyoming and Cherry Valley? What did George Rogers Clark do in the West? What was the British plan in the South? What victory did "Mad Anthony Wayne" win on the Hudson? What news did we get from Captain Paul Jones? After the British had taken Charleston, South Carolina, how did Marion and Sumter help the American cause? What was the result of the battle of Camden? What of that of King's Mountain? Give an account of Arnold's treason. What is said of the winter at Morristown? Describe General Greene's campaign in the South. What occurred at Steele's tavern? What did General Greene succeed in doing? Where had Cornwallis gone? Why did he finally go to Yorktown? Describe Washington's siege of Yorktown and the result. What is said of Washington's crowning victory? What did Lord North exclaim when he heard of it? Can you give a short summary of the Revolution? What did George III say in his speech on the United States? What did he say to John Adams? What did the treaty of peace secure to us in 1783?

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION. THE CONSTITUTION

Pages 170-176. What were the Articles of Confederation? When were they adopted? Under these Articles what two great things did the government accomplish? For what two reasons were the Articles unsatisfactory? What was the condition of the country? Could a man buy or sell freely outside of his own state? Why not? Give an account of "Shays' Rebellion." How did the Northwest Territory help keep the Union together? Mention four provisions of the Ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory. What did Washington, Franklin, and others think must be done about the Articles of Confederation? Give an account of the convention called to make a new constitution in 1787. What three compromises were agreed to? What do the opening lines of the Constitution show? With what words does the Constitution begin? What party favored adopting the Constitution? What party opposed it? Why? What did all the states finally decide? What part did Alexander Hamilton take in this? When was the new Constitution adopted? When did it go into effect? Can you name one or more of the six great objects which it accomplished? What were the ten amendments to the Constitution called? How many other amendments were made later? What did the "Bill of Rights" do? What effect did it have on many Anti-Federalists? What did John Adams say about the United States?

V. The Union—National Development (1789-1861)

The Federalist Party in Power

GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT, FEDERALIST (1789-1797)

Pages 177-182. What two parties united to elect Washington President? What city was then the national capital? Describe his inauguration. What four men did he choose for his cabinet? To what office did he appoint John Jay? What did Congress do in 1789 to obtain money to carry on the government? What three debts did Hamilton persuade the government to pay? What influence did that policy have on our credit? When was the first census taken? What is meant by the "Federal Ratio"? What is said of the first United States bank? of the first mint? What two regularly organized political parties had their origin in the discussion over the bank? What did the members of the Republican party afterward call themselves? What did the Federalists believe? What did the Republicans (or Democrats) believe? Give some account of "Citizen" Genêt. What proclamation did Washington issue?

Pages 183-187. Describe the emigration to the West. What is said of Cincinnati? What did General Wayne make the Indians do? Give some account of the manufacture of cotton in Rhode Island. What machine did Eli Whitney invent in 1793? What effect did it have

on the production of cotton? on the export of cotton? on the building of cotton mills at the North? on slave labor? What caused the Whisky Rebellion? What action did Washington take? What did the treaty with Spain do for us? What is said about Jay's treaty with England (1795)? What did certain abusive newspapers make Washington say? What advice did Washington give the people in his farewell address? When he left office in what condition did he leave the country?

JOHN ADAMS, PRESIDENT, FEDERALIST (1797-1801)

Pages 188-190. When President Adams entered office how did France feel and act toward us? What were the "X. Y. Z. Papers"? When war with France broke out what new song was sung? What did our sailors do? Why did Congress pass the Alien and the Sedition Laws? What is said of the first of these laws? What of the second? What resolutions did Kentucky and Virginia pass in regard to these laws? What great man died in 1799? What marks of respect were shown to his memory in France and in England?

VI. The Democratic Party in Power

THOMAS JEFFERSON, PRESIDENT, DEMOCRAT (1801-1809)

Pages 191-195. What did Jefferson call himself? On what did he pride himself? What is said about the city of Washington? What appointments to office did Jefferson make? How far west was it thought the United States might permanently extend? Was it strange men should have thought so then? Give an account of our new navy and of what it taught the pirates of Tripoli. What did the Pope say about it? Describe the purchase of Louisiana territory in 1803. How much land did we get? What did we pay an acre for it? What four advantages came from the purchase? Give an account of Lewis and Clark's expedition. What effect did it have on the Oregon territory?

Pages 196-199. What effect did the French and English war have on us? What did the British man-of-war *Leopard* do? Why did Congress pass the Embargo Act? What did it do? Why did Congress repeal the act? What new act was passed, and what effect did it have? Why was Aaron Burr tried for treason? What was the result? Give an account of "Fulton's Folly" in 1807. What result came from his great invention? What is said about the *Savannah*, and about lines of ocean steamers? When was the importation of slaves forbidden? What did Jefferson say about slavery?

JAMES MADISON, PRESIDENT, DEMOCRAT (1809-1817)

Pages 199-200. Describe the reopening of trade with Great Britain. What was the result? How did Napoleon deceive us? What about Tecumseh? What of the battle of Tippecanoe?

THE WAR OF 1812

Pages 200-208. What were the Henry letters? What effect did they have? What was the real cause of the War of 1812? What was the so-called "right of search"? How did New England feel about the war? What is said of General Hull? How many war ships did England have? How many had we? What about the *Constitution* and the *Guerrière*? Describe Commodore Perry's victory. What did General Jackson do at Tohopeka? What is said of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane? Describe the taking and burning of Washington. Give an account of Macdonough's victory. What about the British attack on Fort McHenry? What song was written on that occasion? Describe Jackson's great battle at New Orleans. What about the treaty of peace? What was the Hartford Convention? What was the War of 1812 called? What result did it have on the ocean? What did it show foreign countries? What effect did it have on the manufacture of cotton and woolen? How did Congress safeguard these mills?

JAMES MONROE, PRESIDENT, DEMOCRAT (1817-1825)

Pages 209-219. What is said of Monroe's inauguration? What about his journey through the North? What showed that the "Era of Good Feeling" had begun? Speak of the first Seminole War. What territory did we buy in 1819? What great question about slavery came up then? What is said about the change of feeling about slavery? Why did the South want

free trade with Europe? Why did the North want a protective tariff? Why did the North oppose the extension of slavery west of the Mississippi? Why did the South demand it? What was the great Missouri Compromise of 1820? Speak of the desire to reach the West, and of the National Road. Describe the traffic over that road. How did the Monroe Doctrine originate in 1823? What does it mean? Describe the visit of Lafayette in 1825. What inscription is on his monument in Paris?

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, PRESIDENT, INDEPENDENT DEMOCRAT (1825-1829)

Pages 219-225. What is said of the building of the Erie Canal? Describe its opening in 1825. What has that canal done for New York and for the country? What is the state of New York now doing for that canal? What is said about "steam wagons"? Speak of the first passenger railway in America. What about the first American locomotive and the race (1830)? Describe the growth of railways in the United States. How do they strengthen the Union? What is said about drinking habits in early days? What about the movement to overcome intemperance? What does the young man beginning life now, find?

VII. The New Democracy

ANDREW JACKSON, PRESIDENT, DEMOCRAT (1829-1837)

Pages 226-230. What is said of Jackson's character? What was the "political revolution"? What was the "Spoils System"? Who published the *Liberator* in 1831? What had Mr. Garrison made up his mind to do? What did Dr. Channing write to Daniel Webster? What about the slave insurrection in Virginia? What happened to Mr. Garrison? What did Daniel Webster and Abraham Lincoln think about slavery and the Union? Speak of the Abolition societies, of petitions to Congress, of John Quincy Adams in Congress. Why did President Jackson put an end to the second United States Bank? What did he do with the public money?

Pages 230-234. What stand did South Carolina take in regard to protective tariffs? Why? What did Calhoun call the tariff of 1828? What did he demand? What did South Carolina refuse to do? What was that refusal called? What senator upheld nullification? Who replied to him? When Calhoun defended secession what did Webster say? What did Webster make Americans realize? What did President Jackson say he must do? What did he do? What action did Henry Clay take? What effect did his action have?

Pages 234-239. Speak of the growth of the country; of the extension of canals and railways; of the use of coal; and of the express system. What Indian war broke out at the West? What was the second Seminole War? What can you say about Chicago? What painters had America produced? What three noted writers? What well-known book was published in 1828? What other noted writers can you name? What is said about the first cheap newspaper? What new political party appeared about this time? What eminent statesman was leader of the new party?

MARTIN VAN BUREN, PRESIDENT, DEMOCRAT (1837-1841)

Pages 239-244. What great business panic began in 1837? Can you describe it? What effect did it have on factories, mills, and workmen? How did it affect a number of states? What were the three chief causes of the panic? What good result did it have? When was the independent treasury of the United States permanently established? Give an account of the rise of the Mormons. To what part of the West did they finally emigrate? What great and successful work did they do there? Speak of emigration to the United States. Is the door wide open to all now? When do we say, "Come in"? When do we say, "Keep out"? What is said of American "clipper ships"? What of ocean steamers?

W. H. HARRISON AND JOHN TYLER, PRESIDENTS, WHIGS (1841-1845)

Pages 244-249. Describe the election of "the Log-Cabin candidate." How long did he live? What is said about Tyler? What about the Dorr Rebellion? the Webster-Ashburton Treaty? What did Webster say our flag would protect? Who were the anti-renters? What is said about the telegraph in 1844? What was the first message sent by it? What oceans has the telegraph crossed? What about the telephone? What about the "wireless telegraph"? Who publicly proved in 1846 that ether would control pain? What republic did we annex in 1845? Why did the South want Texas?

JAMES K. POLK, PRESIDENT, DEMOCRAT (1845-1849)

Pages 250-252. What is said of Oregon? What of Dr. Whitman's journey to Oregon? What of his journey to the East, and of his return? How did we get Oregon territory in 1846?

THE MEXICAN WAR (1846-1848)

Pages 252-258. What dispute did Texas have with Mexico? What caused our war with Mexico? What victories did General Taylor win? Who took the city of Mexico and so ended the war? What two officers in Scott's army became leading generals, on opposite sides, in the Civil War? What territory did Mexico give up to us at the close of the war, in 1848? What was the "Gadsden Purchase" of 1853? Describe the discovery of gold in California in 1848. What about emigration to California? What about digging gold? What of the "Vigilance Committee"? What results did the discovery of gold have? Why is California a land of gold forever growing?

ZACHARY TAYLOR AND MILLARD FILLMORE, PRESIDENTS, WHIGS (1849-1853)

Pages 258-262. What question in regard to slavery was Congress now called upon to determine? How did the question of slavery extension act on the North and the South? How did the North feel about slavery? How did the South feel? What is said about the "Wilmot Proviso"? What did the extreme southern men say about opening the new territory to slavery? What did the advocates of the "Wilmot Proviso" reply? What did a third class say? What three compromise measures did Clay propose in 1850? Did these measures pass? What results did the new Fugitive-Slave Law have? What was the "Underground Railroad"? What is said about "Uncle Tom's Cabin"? What were the forces for slavery and those against it doing? What is said of Charles Sumner and of Jefferson Davis?

FRANKLIN PIERCE, PRESIDENT, DEMOCRAT (1853-1857)

Pages 262-265. What did the "Crystal Palace" Exhibition of 1853 prove? What four remarkable machines were exhibited? What is said about the reapers, mowers, and harvesters in the West? What did Commodore M. C. Perry do in Japan?

Pages 265-268. What is said about the famous Missouri Compromise of 1820? Who proposed the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854? What did that bill do? Did it pass? What new political party was formed in 1850? Describe the desperate struggle between the North and the South for the possession of Kansas. What is said of "Old John Brown"? In the end which party won, the "Slave-state men" or the "Free-statenen"? What happened to Senator Charles Sumner?

JAMES BUCHANAN, PRESIDENT, DEMOCRAT (1857-1861)

Pages 268-272. What was the Dred Scott case (1857)? What did the court decide? What effect did this decision have on the North? What can you say of the panic of 1857? What caused it? What was discovered in Nevada and Colorado? What did E. L. Drake do in northwestern Pennsylvania in 1859? Compare the total length of the pipe lines with the Mississippi? What is said of natural gas?

Pages 273-279. Describe John Brown's raid, 1859. What happened not long after his execution? Whom did the Republicans elect President in 1860? What did the people of South Carolina think of the election? What did they do? By February 1, 1861, what had six other southern states done? What name did the seceded states take, what President did they elect, and what flag did they hoist? Why did these states secede? What kind of a republic did they aim to establish? What did the Confederacy seize? What is said of Fort Sumter? What did President Buchanan try to do? What happened? What is said about the growth of the United States between 1789 and 1861? Speak of the rapid growth of the West. What sad difference was there between 1789 and 1861? What had caused this sad difference? What had time strengthened? What must happen with regard to the Union? In such a war what would happen if freedom should triumph? Why?

VIII. The Civil War (April, 1861–April, 1865)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESIDENT, REPUBLICAN (1861–1865)

Pages 280–281. At his inauguration what did President Lincoln say about slavery? What about the Union? What about beginning war? What was then the general feeling in the northern states?

FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR (APRIL, 1861–APRIL, 1862)

Pages 281–286. What is said about Major Anderson? Describe the attack on Fort Sumter. What was the result? What did President Lincoln do the next day? What is said of the rising of the North? How about the South? How many more states seceded? How many did this make in all? Name them. To what city in Virginia was the capital of the Confederacy removed? What is meant by General Butler's "contrabands"? What three advantages did the North have with respect to the war? What four advantages did the South have? What did General Grant think about the two armies? In what four ways did the national government raise money for the war? What is said about national banks?

Pages 286–291. Speak of the number and position of the Union and the Confederate armies in 1861. Describe the battle of Bull Run. How did "Stonewall" Jackson get his name? What results did the Union defeat have? What great work did General McClellan do? What were the four points of the Union plan of the war? What is said of the blockade by the Union navy? Speak of blockade runners and Confederate vessels of war. What is said about the seizure of Mason and Slidell? What can you say of the *Merrimac*? What of the *Monitor*?

Pages 292–295. What is said of the war in the West? What Confederate fort did Commodore Foote take? What important victory did "Unconditional Surrender" Grant win? Why did he get this name? What is said of the battle of Pittsburg Landing? What about Island Number Ten? What was the general result of the first year of the war?

SECOND YEAR OF THE WAR (APRIL, 1862–APRIL, 1863)

Pages 295–301. Describe the expedition against New Orleans. After Farragut's victory what were the most important fortified points on the Mississippi which were still held by the Confederates? Describe McClellan's advance on Richmond. What is said about the weather? Speak of "Stonewall" Jackson's raid, and of Stuart's raid. What were the results of McClellan's "Seven Days' Battles" around Richmond? Describe the second battle of Bull Run. What move did General Lee make? What happened at Antietam? Speak of the battles of Fredericksburg and Murfreesboro?

Pages 301–302. What did President Lincoln do on New Year's Day, 1863? Why did he issue the Proclamation of Emancipation? What did the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of 1865 declare? What has free labor done for the South? What was the North fighting for before the Proclamation of Emancipation? What did it fight for afterwards?

THIRD YEAR OF THE WAR (APRIL, 1863–APRIL, 1864)

Pages 302–309. What is said of the battle of Chancellorsville? What noted Confederate officer was killed? Describe the great battle of Gettysburg in 1863. What is said of Pickett's charge? Describe the High-Water-Mark Monument. What was the result of the great battle? What can you say about the siege of Vicksburg in 1863? On what day did Vicksburg surrender? What place surrendered five days later? What is said of the Mississippi River? What about the draft riots? What about Morgan's raid? What is said about the battle of Chickamauga? What did the Union soldiers call General Thomas? Speak of the battles of Lookout Mountain and of Missionary Ridge. What did Sherman do at Meridian? Who was now (1864) made general in chief of the Union armies?

FOURTH AND LAST YEAR OF THE WAR (APRIL, 1864–APRIL, 1865)

Pages 310–315. What did Grant and Sherman now decide to do? What was this famous campaign called? What was the "Wilderness"? What order did Grant telegraph to Sherman from the Wilderness? Speak of the battles of the "Wilderness." What had Grant vowed?

Did he turn back? What did he do? What is said of Captain Winslow of the *Kearsarge*? What two raids did General Early make? Describe Sheridan's raid in the Shenandoah Valley. What is said about the Petersburg mine? What of Sheridan's ride from Winchester?

Pages 315-324. What advance did Sherman make in the West? Describe his movement on Atlanta. What is said about the weather? Did he take Atlanta? What did he do to the city? What victory did Admiral Farragut win? Describe Sherman's march from Atlanta to the sea. What is said about Hood? What did Thomas do? What message did Sherman send to President Lincoln from Savannah? Describe Sherman's march northward. What announcement did he make to his army on April 12, 1865? What effect did this have on both Union and Confederate soldiers? What did a southern woman say to her children? Who surrendered to Sherman near Raleigh?

Pages 324-327. Speak of Sheridan's two raids around Richmond. What place did Grant capture on April 2, 1865? What city did he take on April 3? What is said of Jefferson Davis? Give an account of Lee's surrender on April 9, 1865. What did General Anderson do at Fort Sumter on April 14? How many years was it since the Confederates had won their first victory in the Civil War? What had the war cost? What terrible crime was committed at Washington on the evening of April 14, 1865? What is said of President Lincoln? What is said about the North during the war? What about the Sanitary and the Christian Commissions? What is said of the people of the South in the war? What did General Grant say about them? What effect did the final triumph of the national forces have on the Union?

IX. Reconstruction — The New Nation (1865 to the Present Time)

ANDREW JOHNSON, PRESIDENT, REPUBLICAN (APRIL, 1865-1869)

Pages 328-332. What event made Vice President Johnson President? What very difficult work was President Johnson called to undertake? Give an account of the military review in Washington. What is said of the return of the soldiers to their homes? What effect did the war have on secession? What effect on the negro? What is said of General Grant? What of General Lee? What did Lee say to his men? What proclamation did President Johnson issue in May, 1865? What action did most of the southern states take? On what question did the President and Congress disagree? What did Congress do? What did President Johnson do? What effect did the First Reconstruction Act have? What is said of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution? What was the first southern state that was readmitted? How many other states came back? How many refused to come back and remained out until 1870? What is said about the negro legislators and the "Carpetbaggers"? What brought their reign to an end?

Pages 332-335. What was the Tenure of Office Act? Why did Congress impeach President Johnson? What was the result? What proclamation did the President issue on Christmas, 1868? When was the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution ratified? What did the three amendments do for the negro? Has the Fifteenth Amendment any real force at the South? Why not? Describe the laying of the first Atlantic telegraph cable. What great territory did we purchase in 1867? What results has that purchase had? What was the amount of the great Civil War debt? How long would it take to count it? How much of it have we paid? How was our national debt increased in 1898? How did it stand at the close of 1907?

ULYSSES S. GRANT, PRESIDENT, REPUBLICAN (1869-1877)

Pages 336-341. How was communication overland kept up with California from 1860 to 1869? What great work was completed in 1869? Can you describe it? What very important result has that railway, with the telegraph, had on the Union? What effect has that railway, with others, had on commerce with Asia? What effect have they had on the growth of the Far West? What can you say about the national land laws? What about the Homestead Act of 1862? What about the National Irrigation Act of 1902? What of emigration to the West, and growth of cities like Denver? Give an account of some of the great farms and ranches of the Far West. When was the reconstruction of the southern states completed? Speak of the *Ku Klux Klan* and the "Force Bill." What is said about the negro? What is said of the Weather Bureau? What about the great fires of 1871-1872? What do our losses by fire now average? What is said of "Boss" Tweed?

Pages 341-345. What did the new Coinage Act of 1873 do? Speak of the panic of 1873. Describe the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876. What three remarkable novelties

were exhibited there? Give an account of the telephone. What about experiments with the wireless telephone? What is said of progress in the use of electricity? What of automobiles and flying machines? What may the twentieth century be called? What important treaty did we make in 1871? What was one of its results? What is said about Indian wars at the West? Give an account of the disputed Presidential election of 1876. How was that dangerous dispute settled?

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, PRESIDENT, REPUBLICAN (1877-1881)

Pages 345-348. Why did President Hayes withdraw the United States troops from the South? What was the result? Describe the first great historic labor strike in 1877. What important work did Captain Eads complete in 1879? What can you say about the restoration of "the dollar of our fathers" in 1878? What about "greenbacks" in 1879?

JAMES A. GARFIELD AND CHESTER A. ARTHUR, PRESIDENTS, REPUBLICANS (1881-1885)

Pages 348-353. What happened to President Garfield in the autumn of 1881? Who then became President? What law did Congress pass in 1883? Why? What about the extension of this law? What advantage does the "merit system" secure? Speak of the East River Suspension Bridge. What other great works of this kind have been completed since? What about cheap postage? Why did Congress pass the Alien Contract Labor Act? What does that act prohibit? Speak of the exportation of cotton and of the Cotton Centennial Exhibition. Describe the growth of New Orleans since the Civil War. What is said about the "New South"? Mention some of its "hives of industry." What is said about the supplies of cotton, iron, lumber, and coal of the South? What is free labor accomplishing? How much cotton did the South produce just before the Civil War? How much now? What is said about the prosperity of the negroes? What about education?

GROVER CLEVELAND, PRESIDENT, DEMOCRAT (FIRST TERM, 1885-1889)

Pages 353-358. How long had the Republicans been in power when Mr. Cleveland became President? What is said of the "Knights of Labor"? What was one of their objects? Speak of the "black list" and of the "boycott." What about the "American Federation of Labor"? What about the National Labor Bureau? What of the Department of Agriculture? What was the year 1886 called? What occurred in Chicago? What is the object of the anarchist? Give some account of great corporations and "trusts." What is a "trust"? Mention some objects for which "trusts" have been formed. What is said about the consolidation of railway lines? What of "department stores"? What action has the national government recently taken in regard to great railways and "trusts"? Describe the Statue of Liberty. What three important laws did Congress pass in 1886-1887? What was the object of the Railway Rate Act of 1906? How many members has the Cabinet now? Can you name them?

BENJAMIN HARRISON, PRESIDENT, REPUBLICAN (1889-1893)

Pages 359-362. What does the name Oklahoma mean? Describe the opening of that territory in 1889. When was Oklahoma admitted to the Union? (See page 397.) What is said about the new American navy? What does suffrage mean? What four western states have granted women equal suffrage with men? What is said about the Pension Act of 1890? What was the Sherman Silver Purchase and Coinage Act? Did silver rise in value? How much was a silver dollar worth by weight in 1890? What was it worth a little later? What was the main object of the McKinley Protective Tariff? What is said of the census of 1890? Speak of the Patent Office Centennial celebration. What is said about our labor-saving machines? Where did the second great strike in our history occur?

GROVER CLEVELAND, PRESIDENT, DEMOCRAT (SECOND TERM, 1893-1897)

Pages 363-366. Give an account of the Australian or secret ballot. How many states now use it? What anniversary was celebrated by the public schools in October, 1892? What exposition was opened the next spring? What is said about the panic of 1893? What did Congress do about the Sherman Silver Purchase and Coinage Act? What is said about the Bering

Sea dispute? What was the Coxe "Industrial Army"? Give an account of the third historic strike. What is said of the panic of 1894? What was the Wilson Tariff? What is said about the growth of the "New West"? What about the Venezuela question? How was it settled?

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, PRESIDENT, REPUBLICAN (1897-1901)

Pages 366-371. Give some account of the Dingley Protective Tariff. What is said about the increase in our exports? For what does Great Britain depend upon us? What is said about our manufactures of iron, steel, and copper? What about our exports of these manufactures? Speak of some noted buildings erected in New York and Washington. What is said about "Greater New York"? What about its high buildings? its bridges and tunnels? its new aqueduct? What is said of the rapid growth of our cities? How many people of the United States now live in cities? What is said about the government of our cities? What seven southern states have adopted new or amended constitutions? How do these constitutions affect the negro vote? What about the Fifteenth Amendment to the national Constitution? What is said about the constitution of South Dakota? of Oregon? of Oklahoma? What is this new power granted to the people called?

Pages 371-374. What is said about the former extent of the possessions of Spain in America and in the East? What did Spain hold in America almost as late as the beginning of the last century? What had happened in less than twenty-five years afterward? What were the only important islands Spain had left in the West Indies? Give an account of the revolution in Cuba. What happened to the battle ship *Maine* in 1898? What did President McKinley say in his message to Congress? What did Congress resolve? What did Congress demand of Spain? What did Congress say about the government of Cuba? What about our right to act as guardians of the liberty of the Cuban people?

THE WAR WITH SPAIN, 1898

Pages 374-382. How many volunteers did the President call for? How much money did the national government borrow from the people? How much money was raised by taxation? What is said about our navy? Having made all these preparations, what did Congress do next? Describe the battle of Manila. What is said about Cervera's seven battle ships? Where did Commodore Schley discover them? What did he say? Describe the land battles near Santiago. Give an account of what happened to Cervera's battle ships. What effect did Cervera's defeat have on the war? Meanwhile what occurred at Manila? How did we come into possession of Hawaii? In what year did we obtain the Samoan Islands? What is said of a number of other small islands in the Pacific? When was the final treaty of peace with Spain signed? What were the three terms of that treaty? What discussion took place in the Senate in regard to ratifying the treaty and taking possession of the Philippines? What action did the Senate finally take? What were the seven great steps of our national territorial expansion from 1803 to 1898? How many square miles of territory have we added to the United States in less than a century?

Pages 382-385. What is said about the insurrection in the Philippines? What is said about the condition of the islands? What is said about Cuba? When we recognized the new republic of Cuba, what condition did we insist upon? What did we do when an insurrection broke out in Cuba in 1906? What is said of the cost of the war with Spain in money and life? What is said of the effect of the war on the Union and the Confederate veterans? What about the "Red Cross Society" and the women of America? Speak of the "Trans-Mississippi Exposition." What can you say about the "Great American Desert"? What is that region called now? Speak of the Homestead Act and its effects. What about agricultural colleges? What is said about the prosperity of American farmers and planters? What could they have paid out of a single year's profits?

Pages 385-390. Speak of the destruction of our forests. What is the total forest area of the United States? What demands are being made upon our forests? At our present rate of use, how long will they probably hold out? What are the nation and the states doing to preserve them and the streams which rise in them? What is said about the savings banks of the United States? What about the total wealth of the nation? What about gifts for the public good? What is meant by the "open door" in China? What about the Hague Peace Conference Treaty or Agreement? What very important act did Congress pass in 1900? Speak of the Panama Canal. Why do we need the canal? What is said of the census of 1900? What of our foreign trade? What was the Pan-American Exposition? What terrible murder was committed there in the autumn of 1901? Who then became President?

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, PRESIDENT, REPUBLICAN (1901-1905)

Pages 390-392. Give an account of the great coal strike of 1902. How was it finally settled? What is said about the Pacific telegraph cable? What message did President Roosevelt send to King Edward of England in 1903? What is said about that message? What exposition was opened at St. Louis in 1904? What did it commemorate? What did the exposition at Portland, Oregon, in 1905, celebrate?

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, PRESIDENT, REPUBLICAN (1905-1909)

Pages 393-396. What did President Roosevelt say in his inaugural address about two things we should all resolve to do? What did Franklin say about time? How are Americans working to save it? How are we trying to save health? Speak of our city parks and of our national parks. What are we trying to do about our land, our forests, our coal and iron mines, our oil fields, our natural gas, and the streams of our country? What is the national government doing to help farmers? What meeting of great importance was held in Washington in 1908? How are we trying to save men from some of the wear and tear of human life? What are we trying to do about foolish and hasty wars? On what side has the influence of America generally been? What is said about the arbitration of national disputes? What is said about the children in our public schools?

Pages 396-400. What is said about the way in which Americans meet great disasters? Mention some of these disasters. What is said about the California earthquake and fire? What about the panic of 1907? What state was admitted in 1907? What is the total number of states now? What three important bills did Congress pass? Describe the cruise of our war ships around the world in 1907. What was the result of the Presidential election in November, 1908? What agreement did the Secretary of State make with the Japanese minister in 1908? What is said about the growth of the American nation? What about the population of the republic? What about its extent? What is said about our advantages? What do these facts prove? What question should every American ask himself? What depends on the way in which we answer this question?

TOPICAL ANALYSIS FOR THE BLACKBOARD

[*The figures refer to the numbered sections.*]

NOTE. The most important dates are uninclosed; those given in parentheses are inserted simply to enable the pupil to follow the general chronological order of events.

THE DISCOVERY AND NAMING OF AMERICA (1000-1522)

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| The Northmen
(1000) | { | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Who were they? 2. Iceland. 2. Greenland. 2. "Leif the Lucky." 2. Vinland (1000). 3. Results of the discovery of America by the Northmen. |
| Geographical knowledge | { | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ideas about the earth when Columbus was born. 1. The "Sea of Darkness." |
| Columbus, 1492 | { | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Birth of Columbus. 3. He probably never heard of Vinland. 4. What he wished to do. 4. Marco Polo's book. 4. First reason why Columbus wished to go to the Indies. 5. His second reason for wishing to go there. 5. Trade with the Indies. (Genoa; Venice.) 6. Portuguese voyages; Results. 7. Plan of Columbus. (How far right, how far wrong.) 8. He seeks assistance. 9. He sails, 1492. Vessels; Canary Islands; equipment for the voyage. 10. Incidents of the voyage. (Compass; crew; birds.) 11. Land! 1492. (The <i>West</i> Indies; the Indians.) 12. Return. Letter of Columbus; division of the world. 13. Disappointment of Spain. (Columbus in chains.) 13. Death of Columbus. What he had accomplished. |
| The Cabots, 1497 | { | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 14. John and 14. Sebastian } what they discovered in 1497. 14. Henry VII's notebook. 14. England's claim to America. |
| Origin of the name "America," 1507 | { | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 15. Amerigo Vespucci. 15. What happened in 1507. 15. Did Amerigo Vespucci deserve the honor he received? |

Discoveries concerning America

- 15. What people thought of America.
- 16. What Magellan discovered about America (1519-1522).
- 16. How Europe felt about his discovery.
- 17. Summary of the section.

ATTEMPTS AT EXPLORING AND COLONIZING AMERICA
(1509-1600)

Ponce de Leon

- 18. Discovers and names Florida (1513).

Balboa

- 19. Discovers the "South Sea" (1513). (Cortez proposes a canal across the Isthmus of Panama (1519).)

French explorations

- 20. The King of France; Cartier on the St. Lawrence (1535).

New attempts of the Spaniards

- 21. De Soto's expedition (1539).
- 22. Coronado's expedition (1540).

The French (Huguenots) and the Spaniards

- 23. The Huguenots (1562).
- 23. Menendez; St. Augustine (1565).
- 24. De Gourgues. (Results of the struggle between the French and the Spaniards.)

English explorations and attempts at settlement, 1585

- 25. Frobisher; Davis.
- 25. Sir Humphrey Gilbert; Drake (1577-1580).
- 26. Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition (1584).
- 27. Raleigh's first colony, 1585. (The new "root"; the new weed.)
- 28. Raleigh's second colony (1587).
- 29. Results of the Spanish, French, and English attempts up to 1600.

America and the Indians

- 30. What America was found to be; physical geography. (Climate, soil, crops; healthfulness; superiority to Europe; natural wealth; what Gladstone said.)
- 31. The Indian population.
- 32. Personal appearance of the Indians. (The scalp lock.)
- 33. How they lived.
- 34. Their work. (The moccasin; the snowshoe; the birch-bark canoe.)
- 35. Government of tribes; "wampum."
- 36. Social condition; customs; "totems."
- 37. Religion; character.
- 38. Self-control; torture; respect for courage. (General Stark.)
- 39. The Indian and the white man; what the Indian taught the white man.
- 40. Influence of the Indians on the early history of the country. (The Iroquois; the Indian wars.)

Effects of the discovery of America on Europe

- 41. (1) Geographical knowledge.
- 41. (2) Spain, Portugal, France, and England.
- 41. (3) The precious metals.
- 41. (4) Trade and navigation.
- 41. (5) New products.
- 41. (6) Sugar, cotton, rice, coffee.
- 41. (7) Effects on men's minds. Opportunity.
- 42. Summary of the section. Spaniards, French, English; America in 1600.

Effects of the geography of America on its history. See text and map, pages 42, 43.

PERMANENT ENGLISH AND FRENCH SETTLEMENTS (1607-1763)

The English and the French establish permanent colonies.**I. Virginia, 1607**

- 43. Opening of the 17th century; the desire of the English to go to Virginia.
- 43. England's need of America; the King grants a charter to settle Virginia.
- 43. The London Company; the Plymouth Company.
- 44. Articles of the charter; instructions.
- 45. The London Company's colony sails; Captain John Smith.
- 46. Jamestown, 1607; condition of the colonists.
- 47. Sufferings of the colonists; their search for the Pacific; Pocahontas.
- 48. Gold? The French in Canada; Smith becomes governor; the colonists resolve to abandon Jamestown.
- 49. Lord Delaware; Governor Dale; the great land reform. (*"This is mine."*)
- 50. Cultivation of tobacco (1612). Four effects.
- 51. Virginia becomes practically self-governing, 1619. The House of Burgesses; wives.
- 52. Negro slaves, 1619; white "apprentices."
- 52. What settlements were made at the North.
- 53. Virginia loses her charter; Governor Berkeley; Puritans and Cavaliers.
- 54. Berkeley restored to power; the Navigation Laws; the King gives away Virginia. Other English colonies.
- 55. Condition of the Virginia colonists; the Indian war; the Bacon rebellion, 1676; Results.
- 56. Summary of the Virginia colony.

II. New Netherland, or New York (1614). Settled by Dutch

- 57. Henry Hudson (1609).
- 58. The Indians.
- 59. The Dutch take possession of New Netherland (1614); the English and the French.
- 60. The Dutch purchase Manhattan Island, 1626.
- 61. The Patroons; Van Rensselaer.
- 62. Peter Stuyvesant; New Amsterdam. The English claim the country; they seize it (1664).
- 63. Summary of New Netherland, or New York.

III. New Jersey (1617)

- 64. Dutch claim; English claim.
- 64. English get possession. Name New Jersey.
- 65. The Friends, or Quakers. Treaty with the Indians; government of the colony.
- 66. Summary of New Jersey.

IV. Massachusetts (Plymouth Colony, 1620)

- 67. Lack of religious liberty in England. Catholics, Puritans, Separatists.
- 68. Emigration; the Separatists, or Pilgrims, go to Holland (1607).
- 69. Why the Separatists, or Pilgrims, resolved to leave Holland for America.
- 70. Where they intended to settle; how they got assistance.
- 71. The Pilgrims sail in the *Mayflower*; Myles Standish.
- 72. Cape Cod; the Compact.
- 73. Exploring the coast; Plymouth Rock, 1620. The first winter.
- 74. Governor Bradford; Town meeting; treaty with the Indians.
- 75. The Pilgrims buy out the English Company. Growth of the colony; what made the Pilgrims great.

IV. Massachusetts (Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1630)

76. Salem; Governor Endicott; religious toleration, cutting the cross out of the English flag.
77. Governor Winthrop; Boston, 1630. Great Puritan emigration to New England.
78. Government of Massachusetts; town meetings; who could vote; occupations of the people.
79. Banishment of Roger Williams; of Mrs. Hutchinson; Williams and Massasoit.
80. The Boston Free Latin School (1635); Harvard University, 1636; Rev. John Eliot; first Printing Press, 1639. Common-school system founded, 1647.
81. The New England Confederation, 1643; object; Results.
82. The coming of the Friends, or Quakers.
83. Why it excited alarm; what the Friends believed, what they refused to do.
84. Effect of persecution on the Friends.
85. What the Puritans of Massachusetts did to the Quakers.
86. King Philip's War, 1675. Eliot's Indians; Result of the war.
87. The Salem witchcraft.
88. Massachusetts loses her charter; Andros; the new charter.
89. Summary of Plymouth and of Massachusetts Bay colonies.

V. New Hampshire (1623)

90. Grant to Gorges and Mason; first settlements.
91. Division of the territory; New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine; Exeter.
92. Londonderry; union of New Hampshire with Massachusetts. Voting; New Hampshire a royal province.
93. Summary of New Hampshire.

VI. Connecticut (1634)

94. Emigration to the valley of the Connecticut; Hooker's colony.
95. The Pequot War.
96. The Connecticut constitution, 1639. Of what it was the parent.
97. The New Haven colony; Scripture laws.
98. The Regicides; Davenport's sermon; Andros and the Connecticut charter.
99. Summary of Connecticut.

VII. Maryland (1634)

100. The Catholic Pilgrims; Lord Baltimore; Maryland.
101. St. Marys; the wigwam church (1634).
102. Government of the colony; religious freedom; the Toleration Act, 1649.
103. Clayborne and Ingle; what the English commissioners did; how the Assembly or Legislature treated Lord Baltimore.
104. Lord Baltimore restored to his rights; Maryland loses her charter.
105. Establishment of the Church of England; Maryland restored to Lord Baltimore; Mason and Dixon's line (1763-1767).
106. Summary of Maryland.

VIII. Rhode Island (1636)

107. Roger Williams; Providence; the first Baptist church in America (1639).
108. Liberty of conscience, 1636. The Constitution of the United States.
109. Settlement of the island of Rhode Island; the charter; Rhode Island and the Revolution.
110. Summary of Rhode Island.

IX. New Sweden, or Delaware (1638)

- 111. The Swedes plant a colony; the Dutch seize it.
- 112. The English take the country. William Penn; the "Territories"; Delaware the first state to ratify the national Constitution (1787).
- 113. Summary of Delaware.

X, XI. Carolina (1663)

- 114. Grant of Carolina; first settlements.
- 115. Charleston; the Huguenots.
- 116. The "Grand Model"; division of the territory into North and South Carolina (1712).
- 117. Growth of the two colonies; rice; indigo; Charleston shortly before the Revolution.
- 118. Summary of Carolina.

XII. Pennsylvania (1681)

- 119. William Penn; Pennsylvania; the "Holy Experiment."
- 120. The first emigrants; Penn at Newcastle; Philadelphia (1682).
- 121. The "Great Law" (1682).
- 122. The treaty with the Indians (1682); importance of Philadelphia.
- 123. Summary of Pennsylvania.

XIII. Georgia (1733)

- 124. Oglethorpe. His three objects in establishing the colony of Georgia.
- 125. Savannah; silk culture.
- 126. Four restrictions on the colony. Results.
- 127. The Wesleys; Whitefield; removal of most of the restrictions; the Spaniards; Georgia (1752); natural resources of Georgia.
- 128. Summary of Georgia.

The French in the West and the South (1669-1718)

- 129. French exploration of the West (1669); the Catholic missionaries.
- 130. Joliet and Marquette on the Mississippi (1673).
- 131. La Salle's expedition (1679-1682). The forts; Louisiana (1682).
- 132. Mobile; New Orleans (1718).
- 133. What the English held in America; what the French held.

The wars of the English with the French and their Indian allies (1689-1763)

- 134. War with the French and Indians; (1) "King William's War" (1689). Schenectady; Haverhill; Acadia.
- 134. (2) "Queen Anne's War" (1702). Deerfield; Annapolis; Nova Scotia.
- 135. (3) "King George's War" (1744); capture of Louisburg. Results.
- 136. (4) The "French and Indian War" (1754); the French forts.
- 137. The Ohio Company; action of the French; Governor Dinwiddie's messenger; the name cut on Natural Bridge.
- 138. Results of Washington's journey.
- 139. The Albany Convention (1754); Franklin's snake.
- 140. Braddock's defeat (1755); Washington.
- 141. Acadian exiles; Pitt and victory; Louisburg; Fort Duquesne; the French driven back to Canada.
- 142. Fall of Quebec (1759); Pontiac's conspiracy.
- 143. What the war settled. France and the West (1759); Treaty of 1763; what America was to become; Spain; the English flag at the end of 1763.
- 144. Four Results of the four great wars between the English and the French with their Indian allies (1689-1763).

**General state of
the country in
1763**

- 145. The thirteen colonies in 1763. "Making roots." The population; the country west of the Alleghenies.
- 146. Language, religion, social rank; cities; newspapers; trade; manufactures; Navigation Laws; bounties.
- 147. Government of the colonies; law. "Don't tread on me." Unity of the people.
- 148. Farm life. (The houses; the fires; food; the store; recreation.)
- 149. City life; the Southern Plantations. Dress; life then and life now.
- 150. Travel; the "Flying Machine"; letters; hospitality; severe laws.
- 151. Education; books; Edwards; Franklin.
- 152. Franklin's "key to the clouds"; what he said about electricity.
- 153. General summary of the colonial period.

THE REVOLUTION; THE CONSTITUTION (1763-1789)

**The Revolution.
(1. The colonists
resist taxation
without repre-
sentation,
1764-1775)**

- 154. American commerce; the new King. What he was and what he did. "Writs of Assistance"; James Otis.
- 155. The King proposes to levy a direct tax on the colonies; object of tax; protest of the Americans. Pitt and Burke.
- 156. The Stamp Act proposed.
- 157. The Act passed, 1765; Patrick Henry; the Virginia Assembly; the Stamp Act Congress; destruction of the stamps.
- 158. Repeal of the Stamp Act; the Declaratory Act; the Boston Massacre; the *Gaspee*.
- 159. The new taxes (1767); their object; the colonists refuse taxed tea; the "Boston Tea Party," 1773.
- 160. Parliament closes the port of Boston. General Gage; Patrick Henry,—"We must *fight*." "Committees of Correspondence"; the First Continental Congress, 1774. The three things that Congress did; Massachusetts; John Hancock; volunteers; "minutemen"; the spirit of liberty; the Tories.

**The Revolution.
(2. From the be-
ginning of the
war, 1775, to
the Declaration
of Independence,
1776)**

- 161. Paul Revere; Lexington; Concord, 1775. "Yankee Doodle"; the siege of Boston.
- 162. The Second Continental Congress, 1775; the three things it did. Ethan Allen. Ticonderoga, Crown Point.
- 163. Bunker Hill, 1775. Franklin's letter.
- 164. Washington takes command of the American army (1775); the attack on Canada.
- 165. Washington enters Boston; Fort Sullivan, or Fort Moultrie.
- 166. The idea of Independence; "Common Sense." The Hessians.
- 167. The Declaration of Independence, 1776. The Liberty Bell; the King's statue. The new nation.
- 168. Summary.

**The Revolution.
(3. The War of
Independence,
from 1776 to
1777)**

- 169. What the British hoped to do in New York; the American navy; privateers.
- 170. Washington at New York; Fort Washington; Fort Lee.
- 171. The two armies; the battle of Long Island.
- 172. Washington retreats northward; Nathan Hale; Fort Washington; the false-hearted Lee.
- 173. Fort Lee taken; Washington retreats southward, and crosses the Delaware. General Lee captured.
- 174. How Washington spent Christmas night (1776) at Trenton.

The Revolution.
(3. *The War of Independence, from 1776 to 1777*)
— *Continued*

- 175. How Robert Morris spent New Year's morning (1777) at Philadelphia.
- 176. Cornwallis outwitted; Princeton; Morristown. Lafayette; De Kalb; Steuben.
- 177. Burgoyne's expedition; Herkimer at Oriskany; Stark at Bennington.
- 178. Howe's expedition to Pennsylvania; Brandywine; the British enter Philadelphia; Germantown; Valley Forge.
- 179. The Turning Point in the Revolution, at Saratoga, 1777; "Stars and Stripes"; Results of victory; Franklin and Washington.
- 180. Summary.

The Revolution.
(4. **The War of Independence, from 1777 to 1781**)

- 181. The winter at Valley Forge; England's offer (1778).
- 182. Monmouth; Lee; Indian massacres; Clark's victories in the West.
- 183. The war in the South; Savannah; Wayne's victory; Paul Jones.
- 184. Charleston; Marion and Sumter.
- 185. Our defeat at Camden.
- 185. Our victory at King's Mountain.
- 186. Arnold's treason (1780).
- 186. The terrible winter at Morristown.
- 187. General Greene (1781); Cowpens; Greene's retreat; Mrs. Steele; Guilford Court House; Cornwallis.
- 188. Greene's victories in South Carolina; Washington and Greene.
- 189. The Crowning Victory of the War, 1781. Lafayette; Washington's plan; Robert Morris again; the siege of Yorktown; "The World's Upside Down"; Lord North.
- 190. Summary of the Revolution.

After the Revolution
(1783-1787)

- 191. George III's speech; the Treaty of Peace, 1783. John Adams.
- 192. Condition of the United States; the Articles of Confederation of 1781; what they accomplished.
- 193. Distress of the country. (Debt; paper money; quarrels of the states; no freedom of trade.)
- 194. "Shays' Rebellion."
- 195. The Northwest Territory. The Ordinance of 1787; how the Northwest Territory helped to keep the Union together.

The formation and adoption of the Constitution,
1787-1789

- 196. The Convention of 1787; the Articles of Confederation are set aside; the Constitution; the three Compromises, 1787.
- 196. "We the people"; Alexander Hamilton; the "Ship of State."
- 197. Six things accomplished by the Constitution; the "Bill of Rights"; later Amendments.
- 198. Summary. (What John Adams said.)

THE UNION; NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (1789-1861)

I
The Federalist party in power
(1789-1801)

- (*Washington. See page 118 (and note), also sections on the Revolution.*)
- 199. Federalists and Anti-Federalists; election of the first President (1788); the national capital; inauguration of Washington, 1789.
- 200. Washington's cabinet; how the government raised money, 1789.
- 201. Payment of three great debts. Hamilton.

The Federalist party in power (1789-1801).
— *Continued*

Washington's administration.
(Two terms,
1789-1797)

- 202. The first census, 1790; the "Federal Ratio"; the first United States Bank, 1791; the Mint; Decimal Coinage.
- 203. Rise of regular Political Parties, 1792; "Citizen" Genêt; Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality, 1793.
- 204. Emigration to the West. Boone; Marietta; Cincinnati (1790). The first western newspaper (1793). War with the Indians and results.
- 205. The manufacture of cotton; the Cotton Gin, 1793, and its four Results.
- 206. The Whisky Rebellion; treaty with Spain.
- 207. Jay's Treaty, 1795; newspapers attack Washington; three new states.
- 208. Summary of Washington's presidency.

II
John Adams' administration.
(One term,
1797-1801)

- (*Sketch of John Adams. See note 1, p. 138.*)
- 209. Trouble with France; the "X. Y. Z. Papers." Pinckney's defiant words; war; "Hail Columbia."
- 210. The Alien and the Sedition Laws; the Kentucky and the Virginia Resolutions (1798-1799); Death of Washington.
- 211. Summary of John Adams' presidency.

III
The Democratic-Republican or Democratic party in power (1801-1841)

Jefferson's administration.
(Two terms,
1801-1809)

- (*Jefferson. See note 2, p. 191.*)
- 212. Republican simplicity; the new national capitol; Jefferson's appointments to office.
- 213. Probable extent of the republic. Means of travel.
- 214. The pirates of Tripoli; "If you make yourself a sheep, the wolves will eat you"; war, the Navy; Results.
- 215. Purchase of Louisiana, 1803; four Results.
- 216. Lewis and Clark. Oregon; John Jacob Astor.
- 217. War between France and England; the *Leopard* and the *Chesapeake* (1807).
- 218. The Embargo (1807); the Non-Intercourse Act (1809).
- 219. Aaron Burr.
- 220. "Fulton's Folly," 1807. Western steamboats; the *Savannah*, 1819; first regular line of ocean steamers (1840).
- 221. Importation of slaves forbidden, 1808. Jefferson and slavery.
- 222. Summary of Jefferson's presidency.

IV
Madison's administration.
(Two terms,
1809-1817)

- (*Madison. See note 1, p. 199.*)
- 223. Trade reopened with Great Britain.
- 224. How Napoleon deceived us.
- 225. Tecumseh's conspiracy; Tippecanoe (1811).
- 226. The Henry Letters; the real, final cause of the War of 1812.
- 227. General Hull; Detroit.
- 228. The English navy compared with the American; the *Constitution* and the *Guerrière*.
- 229. Perry's victory. His dispatch to General Harrison.
- 230. General Jackson and the Indians; Tohopeka. Result.
- 231. Chippewa; Lundy's Lane; burning of Washington.
- 232. Macdonough's victory; Fort McHenry. The "Star-Spangled Banner."
- 233. Jackson at New Orleans (1815); end of the war; the Hartford Convention; the treaty of peace.
- 234. Four Chief Results of the War of 1812.
- 235. Summary of Madison's presidency.

V

Monroe's
administration.
(Two terms,
1817-1825)

- (*Monroe. See p. 209 and note 1.*)
- 236. The President's inauguration.
 - 237. His journey; the "Era of Good Feeling."
 - 238. First Seminole War; purchase of Florida, 1819.
 - 239. Question of the western extension of slavery; what Jefferson said.
 - 240. Change of feeling about Slavery; the North and the South; effect of the Cotton Gin.
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NOTE. In the words pronounced in parentheses, e.g. Aguinaldo (a-ge-nal'do), *g* is always hard, as in *go*; whenever soft *g* occurs it is represented either by *j* or by *zh*, e.g. Magellau (ma-jel'lan), Genêt (zhen-ay'). It should be clearly understood that the pronunciation of a considerable number of foreign names can only be given approximately.

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